

THE ANTIENT
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
EGYPTIANS, || MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS, || MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS, || AND
BABYLONIANS, || GRECIANS.

By Mr. R O L L I N.

VOLUME VII.

CONTAINING
The History of the GRECIANS.

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THE
ANTIENT HISTORY
OF THE
G R E E K S.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I. *The character and plan of the history contained in this volume.*

TH E history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander; and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, in Egypt; to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view, a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy, and perfidious conduct; treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour; with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars and dreadful revolutions. Men originally friends, brought up together and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expence of

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their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the sisters of that prince, to their own ambition ; and without sparing even those to whom they either owed, or gave life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men, and great examples ; or if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid tract, and are only remarkable from the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which occasion inevitable distaste and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most affecting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation, and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excesses of inordinate passions, of which he conceives himself incapable.

What means is there to preserve and diffuse the agreeable through a narration, which has nothing to offer but an uniform series of vices and great crimes ; and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity ? it may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity ; and to be particular in describing the unjust success, which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose

prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on Providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to secure themselves, some portion, greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, and they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each particular. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any antient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear, to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connection with each other; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are, perhaps, the most complicated and perplexed part of antient history; Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides; and, on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux; but, with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light into this history as I could desire.

After a war of twenty years, the number of the principal competitors were reduced to four; Ptolemy, Caffan-

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der, Seleucus, and Lysimachus : The empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel ; by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct ; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was subject to the fewest changes ; because Ptolemy, who was established there as a governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity : we shall, therefore, consider this prince, as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochas shall be fixed from him.

This seventh volume, therefore, will contain the space of one hundred and three or four years, under the three first kings of Egypt ; viz. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years ; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty ; and Ptolemy Evergetes, whose reign continued twenty-seven.

In order to throw some light into the history contained in this volume, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his antient kingdom, which his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succession ; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued pacific in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains : and he might have transmitted the scepter of his progenitors to his own descendants. But, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was

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instrumental in the destruction of his house, and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext of murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, spread the desolations of fire and sword through whole provinces, without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providence abandoned these events to chance; but as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations that were to be first enlightened with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece; and the same providence made it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The Deity therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

It has been also remarked, that the design of God in extending the Grecian conquests through those very nations that were to be converted by the gospel, was, that the philosophy of the Greeks should be equally diffusive; in order to prepare the minds of those barbarous people; to train them up to a habitude of turning their reflections inward upon themselves; to render them attentive to the distinction of body and soul, matter and spirit; to awaken in them an idea of the soul's immortality, and the great end of man's existence; to recal the first principles of the law of nature; to distinguish the characteristics of the principal virtues; to furnish them with rules for discharging the duties of life, and to establish the most essential ties of society, of which individuals are the members. Christianity derived advantages from all these preparations, and has gathered in all the fruit of those seeds, which providence scat-

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tered on the minds of men at such a remote distance, and which the grace of Jesus Christ caused to spring forth, at the period pre-ordained from all eternity by the divine decrees.

But though the Deity caused the Grecian conquests to be productive of all these advantages to his church, he did not consider the Greeks as less criminal, or less deserving of punishment. They had no intention to be subservient to his eternal purposes of mercy, and only proposed the gratification of their own ambition and avarice; but his wisdom and power caused their unjust desires to be instrumental in the accomplishment of his own decrees. It was indeed extremely remarkable, as I have already intimated, that most of the near relations, and all the officers of Alexander, should be taken off by miserable deaths. The Almighty caused those usurpers to exterminate one another, and employed their own ministrations to punish them for the depredations, barbarities, and injustice with which they had harassed so many nations, who had never injured them, and whose only crime consisted in their desire to be free, and not to acknowledge them for their masters. *Vicitumque ulticifitur orbem.*

Thus did their crimes avenge the conquered world.

SECT. II. *A chronological abridgment of the history contained in this seventh volume.*

THE partition of the empire of Alexander the Great, among the generals of that prince immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself without acknowledging any superior.

(a) This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a solemn treaty,

(a) A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

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as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelo-syria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Asia Major, which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted, almost without any interruption, in the same families, and through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

I. *The kingdom of Egypt.*

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death, those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. This volume will contain the history of the first three of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

(b) Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.

(c) Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the life-time of his father.

(d) Ptolemy Evergetes reigned twenty-five years.

II. *The kingdom of Syria.*

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short:

(b) A. M. 3681. (c) 3719. (d) 3758. A. M.

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and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name; and thirteen, who were called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII., with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenes. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in this volume, are four in number.

- (e) Seleucus Nicanor. He reigned twenty years.
- (f) Antiochus Soter, 19.
- (g) Antiochus Theus, 15.
- (h) Seleucus Callinicus, 20.

III. The kingdom of Macedonia.

(i) Macedonia frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes. Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons. Philip the eldest died presently after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

(k) Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus, made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.

(l) After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia; but did not long enjoy it.

(m) Ptolemy Ceraunus having slain the preceding prince seized the kingdom, and possessed it alone, but a very short time; having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

- (e) A. M. 3704. (f) 3724. (g) 3743. (h) 3758.
- (i) A. M. 3707. (k) 3710. (l) 3723. (m) 3724.

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(n) Sothenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.

(o) Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted those dominions to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.

(p) He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

(q) Antigonus Doson reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

(r) Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.

(s) His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about eleven years. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. *The kingdom of Thrace, and Bithynia, &c.*

This fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lysimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

Sect. III. *A chronological abridgment of the history of several lesser kingdoms;*

BE SIDE the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian states, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

(n) 3726. (o) 3728. (p) 3762. (q) 3772. (r) 3484.

(s) 3826.

Kings of Bithynia.

(t) Whilst Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithynia. It is uncertain who this Zypethes was, unless we may conjecture with Pausanias, that he was a Thracian. His successors however are better known.

(u) Nicomedes I. This Prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

(x) Prusias II. surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels, in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them, by which means these territories became a Roman province.

Kings of Pergamus.

This kingdom comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea, against the island of Lesbos.

(y) This kingdom was founded by Philatera an eunuch, who had been a servant to Docima, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lysimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

(z) Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twelve years.

(t) A. M. 3686. (u) 3726. (x) 3840. (y) A. M. 3722.
Ant. J. C. 283. (z) A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263.

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(a) He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians ; and he transmitted his dominions to his posterity, who enjoyed them to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

(b) His successor was Eumenes II. his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory he obtained over Antiochus the Great.

(c) Attalus II. espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

(d) Attalus III. surnamed Philomete, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

(e) Aristonicus, who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans ; but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

Kings of Pontus.

(f) The kingdom of Pontus in Asia minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian Lords who conspired against the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Asia minor, and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea, (*Pontus Euxinus*), from which it derives its name. It extends as far as the river Halys, and even to Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

- (a) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. (b) A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. (c) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. (d) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. (e) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133. (f) A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.

(g) The sixth monarch was Mithridates I. which is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontes; and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

(h) He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemnon, and reigned twenty-six years.

(i) His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonus suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Callander, had determined to destroy him; but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called *Krisos*, or *the Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

(k) Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, King of Syria; by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

(l) He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V, and the first who was called a friend to the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

(m) He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI, surnamed Eupator. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

Kings of Cappadocia.

(n) Strabo informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as

(g) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. (h) A. M. 3638. Ant. J. C. 366. (i) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337. (k) A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. (l) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.

(m) A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123. (n) Strab. l. xii. p. 534.

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it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus : The other tracts constituted Cappadocia, properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

(o) When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father sometime after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

Kings of Armenia.

Armenia, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians ; after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates King of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

Kings of Epirus.

Epirus is a province of Greece separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself

(o) A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

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in that country, and called themselves Æacides from Æacus the grandfather of Achilles.

(p) The genealogy of the last kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be dubious and obscure.

him Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate in that excellent school such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a King. He there learned the art of reigning effectually, and * as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip King of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government of Arymbas his elder brother by the credit of his son-in law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides his son ought to have been his successor; Philip had still the credit to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander the son of Neoptolemus sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troida, and one son the celebrated Pyrrhus.

(p) Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

* Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit. Justin. l. xvii. c. 3.

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As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

(q) This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himself master of it.

Helenus his son reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

Tyrants of Heraclea.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Cœtiens, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

(r) When the Athenians were victorious over the Persians, and had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution. Lamachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose natural ferocity might well have been increased, by the severe treatment they had lately received. But * they had

(q) A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 171. (r) Justin. I. xvi. c. 3--5.
Diod. I. xv. p. 390.

* Heracleenses honestiorē beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem
at, instructos commeatibus auxiliisque dimitunt: bene agrorum

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recourse to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furnished him with provisions and troops for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendship of the Athenians at that price.

(s) Some time after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators, who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were necessitated to recall Clearchus a senator to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals, nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

(t) Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued his conduct for the space of fifteen years.

(s) A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.

(t) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

Suorum populationem impensam existimantes, si, quos hostes habuerant, amicos reddidissent. Justin.

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(u) He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius, who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, (x) Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea.

(y) He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, and after a reign of thirty three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.

This princess was rendered happy in her administration, by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city and called it by her name; after which she transplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

Kings of Syracuse.

(z) Hiero, and his son Hieronymus reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

(a) Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse. His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year (b). I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

Other kings.

Several kings likewise reigned in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrène in Africa, Paphlagonia,

(u) Diod. l. xvi. p. 435. A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

(x) Diod. l. xvi. p. 478. (y) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

(z) A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269. (a) A. M. 3780. Ant. C. 215.

(b) A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213.

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nia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the same period; I shall treat of each in their proper places.

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BOOK THE SIXTEENTH
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ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains the competition and wars that subsisted between the generals of Alexander from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which decided their several fates. These events include the space of twenty three years, which coincide with the first twenty-three years of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

ECT. I. Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridaeus elected king, Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.

In relating the death of Alexander the Great in the preceding volume, I mentioned the many troubles and amonitions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at first, with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almost as a god, and abandoned themselves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned throughout the camp, but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which speak the true language of the heart, and never flows from a vain ostentation of sorrow, which is so often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions. *

* Passim silentia et gemitus: nihil compositum in ostentationem--
tius moercent. Tacit.

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider with the utmost consternation the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection; how could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient; and indeed their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of supporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, (c) *That the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder, after his death, and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner to his posterity.* No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult, and decide *; nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible power, had already dispo-

(c) Dan. xi. 4.

* Non erit, non stabit, non fiet. Isa.

fed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements, but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him, Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridaeus; but he would not upon his death-bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funerals with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire and submit to his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridaeus should succeed Alexander. This prince had discovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drinck, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his understanding. This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridaeus, wou ld be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular establishment. For a sudden revolution was working

in the minds of these officers, and caused them to contemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

(d) These disputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days, and if we may credit some authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner, and Aridaeus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had interveened, the principal officers assembled at a conference, where it was unanimously concluded that Aridaeus should be King, or rather that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Aridaeus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as a guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to anul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state and had exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at five hundred talents, which amounted to five hundred thousand crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid

(d) Quint. Curt. l. x. Just. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finishell with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

(e) Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledg'd king, jointly with Aridaeus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were consigned to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Lybia and Cyrenaica, were assign'd to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about 17 years after this event.

In the lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphilia, and the greater Phrygia were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himself with a slight submissio.

Syria and Phoenicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two

(e) Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

Media's to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Selucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

(f) The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander having assembled the great men of his court, who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorize the declaration in the Maccabees, *That he divided his kingdom among them whilst he was living.*

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but short. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subl. (g)

The partition concluded upon in the assembly was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history. Each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. (g) They however paid that ye-

(f) Maccab. l. i. n. 6. et 7.

(g) Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

eration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined, that the resolutions which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

(h) Eumenes must however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery. He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his esteem. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the King espoused her to Eumenes *. We shall see by the event, that this wife favourite conducted himself in such a manner as justly intitled him to the favour of those two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident, that a man may be a Plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

(i) I have already intimated in the preceding volume, that Sysigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, was incapable of surviving Alexander. (k) The death of this princess was soon followed by that of her two youngest daughters, Statira the

(h) Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.

(i) Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (k) Plut. in Alex.

* Arrian declares he had another wife. l. vii. p. 278.

widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephaestion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confidant in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in upper Asia, and with the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct from the other events.

SECT. II. The revolt of the Greeks in upper Asia. The impressions occasioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The flight and death of Demosthenes.

(I) **T**H E Greeks, whom Alexander had established, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience those delights and satisfactions with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of returning into their own country. They however durst not discover their uneasiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions: they armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with three thousand horse; and having placed Phileon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counsel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.

(I) A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 343. Died-l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

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Perdiocas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprize at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, sent Pithon to oppose them. The merit of this officer was acknowledg'd by all, and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in upper Asia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprising order to the Macedonians whom he sent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon on his arrival brought over by money three thousand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a compleat victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's design, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

(m) This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumors, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse; they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of

(m) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner ; " If he be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so to-morrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with great security."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, " Young man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides, rising up, asked him this question. " When would you advise the Athenians to make war ? As soon, replied Phocion, as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline ; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expence of a war ; and when the orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual ; a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country under the conduct of Leosthenes against Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

(n) Demosthenes, who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus to accede to the league.

The Athenians were struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, and immediately passed a decree to recal him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of

(n) Plut. in Demost. p. 858. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 5.

oars was dispatched to him at Ægina, and when he entered the port of Piraeus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him, and whilst he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulsion upon their inclinations.

(o) The generality of those who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprize of so much importance required. They were sensible also that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable, and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquest and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasi-

(o) Diod. l. xviii. p. 594-599.

on, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side ; but in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprizing in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was perhaps the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

However that were, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn-out. Three of the ten tribes that composed the republic were left for the defence of Attica, the rest marched out with the rest of the allies, under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprized, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to sollicit their assistance ; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse ; the frequent recruits which he had sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprizing that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men ; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their antient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He flattered himself that they had begun to familiarize themselves with subjection ; and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time, in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Thessaly, and was followed by his fleet, which cruized along the sea-coasts. It consisted of one hundred and ten triremes, or galleys of three benches of oars. The Thessalians declared at first in

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his favour; but having afterwards changed their sentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them with a great body of horse.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he durst not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a safe retreat into Macedonia; he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city of Thessaly, in order to wait for the succours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place; which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The assault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the resistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after several attempts despairing to carry it by force, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation and a very deep ditch, and by those means cut off all supplies of provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender, when Leosthenes, in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was configned to Antiphilus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

(p) Leonatus in the mean time was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures in consequence of some particular views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He at the same time shewed him letters from Cleopatra the sister of

(p) A. M. 308. Ant. J. C. 322. Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders in the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inaccessible to the pursuit of the Thessalians. The Greeks, having carried off their dead, erected a trophy and retired.

(q) The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion, "but I would not, at the same time, have neglected to offer the advice I gave *." He did not think, that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather

(q) Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

* Non damnavit quod recte viderat, quia, quod alius male confulerat, bene cesserat: felicius hoc existimans, illud etiam sapientius. Val. Max. lib. iii. c. 8.

from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, *When shall we cease to conquer them?*

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on coinnences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessaly, and contented himself with observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the same time, two victories near the islands of Echinades over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

(r) Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand Archers or Slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior to these troops in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they however lost but few troops,

(a) Diod. I. xviii. p. 599--602.

and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council, the next day, to deliberate whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately dispatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negotiation, and the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those antient assertors of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public, and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never subsisted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

(s) Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and consequently in no condition to defend herself against a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place ; and the people, in order to transfer upon those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain these good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himself was at their head ; and the conqueror declared that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect

(s) Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of an harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, “ That he was disposed to contract a friendship and alliance with the Athenians on the following conditions : They should deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides to him ; the government should be restored to its antient plan, by which all employments in the state were to be conferred upon the rich ; that they should receive a garrison in the port of Munychia ; that they should defray all the expences of the war, and also a large sum, the amount of which should be settled.” Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible, that the rich men who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependants much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and would be only guided by their own caprice. .

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation ; but that philosopher judged otherwise. *They are very moderate for slaves, said he, but extremely severe for free men.*

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by some of Phocion’s particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the great mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession

from the city to Eleusina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction. "Alas!" said they, when they compared past times with those they then saw, "the gods, amidst our greatest adversities, would formerly manifest themselves in our favour, during this sacred ceremonial, by mystic visions and audible voices, to the great astonishment of our enemies, who were terrified by them. But now, when we are even celebrating the same solemnities, they cast an unpitying eye on the greatest calamities that can happen to Greece: they behold the most sacred of all days in the year, and that which is most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished by the most dreadful of calamities, which will even transmit its name to this sacred time through all succeeding generations."

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingred out a wretched life, amidst the contemptuous treatment they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowlege of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

(t) Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, repos'd much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learn-

(t) Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

ed a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, polities, and history. (u) He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city, at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

(x) The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he dispatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a suppliant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promise; and was sensible that venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed

(u) Diog. in Laert. in Demetr. p. 859, 860.

(x) Plat. in Demet.

poison, which he always carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domestics who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation to generation; and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription which was couched in two Elegiac verses: *Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece.* What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already said of Demosthenes on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjectures, wherein the honour and interest of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcileable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and if the Athenians had followed his counsels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

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(y) He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was associated in an embassy to that prince, were continually praising the King of Macedonia at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. *What strange commendations are these?* replied Demosthenes. *The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the praise of a king.*

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After he has shewn, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. “The one*, says he, is more precise, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a smaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chuses a larger field for the assault. The one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius.”

(z) I have elsewhere observed another difference between these two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterizes Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all o-

(y) Plut. in Demost. p. 853.

(z) In the discourse on the eloquence of the bar.

* In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astricilius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curiae plus in illo, in hoc naturae. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

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flattery of wit : in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, from no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation is so amiable a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so susceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience ; and did not believe, that the genius of his times were consistent with such a rigid exactness ; he therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his discourse. For which reason he had some regard to the agreeable, but, at the same time, never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the interest of his country, and was not mistaken, as to please, is one of the most certain means of persuading : but at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure ; and how inclined they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was however prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recal several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition ; and there

is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republic from that time. As for those whose recal to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live sequestered from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a set of unfortunate persons some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality, but was sensible however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons, as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself with removing from all authority such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of excessive and licentious.

The conqueror, after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that softened her aspect,

and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that as young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands, (for after the death of Craterus, she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus,) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way and were appeased by her conduct.

SECT. III. *Procession at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into possession of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate against each other. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is slain there.*

(a) **M**UCH about this time the † funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Aridaeus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and august funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the

(a) A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. l. xviii. p. 608.—610.

† I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done; but that was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

celebration of this mournful, but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the procession was to pass.

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration, as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axle-trees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, representing the muscles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams or poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones with golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionic order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with a blaze of jewels, disposed in the form of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations were disposed into four reliefs.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid scepter in his hand, and surrounded, on one side, with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their manner. These were preceded by the king's équerries.

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In the second were seen elephants compleatly harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold, of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals *, whose necks were encompassed with golden circles, a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns that glittered with the liveliest colours, and such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corps. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The rays of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that, in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the

* The Greek word *τραχιλαρος* imports a kind of hart, from whose chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable; a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion, by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators of this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred, would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other, for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous, that the corps should be conveyed to Æge in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the King of Macedonia, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corps in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, as they had proposed. It was, therefore, deposited, first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

(a) Freinsheimius, in his supplement to Livy, relates

(a) Lib. 133.

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after Leo * the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mohammedans, as the monument, not only of an illustrious King, but of a great prophet.

(b) Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontic sea, were allotted to Eumenes, in consequence of the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess King Ariarathes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of fending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes, seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domestics well armed; and with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold, and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counsels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great solidity and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas

(b) Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. I. xviii. p. 599.

* This author lived in the 15th century.

thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised twenty thousand foot and a great body of horse : But he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family; and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions : And this conduct was very judicious and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner : For the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver, set fire to their several habitations, and after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder, and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty ; for the place was filled with riches.

(c) Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter season. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to divorce Nicea the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time, when he thought that marriage subservient to his interest : But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes ; his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander King of Epirus, and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas dispatched Eumenes thither to propose his marriage to that princess, and employ his en-

(c) A. M. 363. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. p. 606--609.

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deavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore pass'd into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont to observe the motions of the new enemy: And in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy governor of Egypt in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities which rendered them incapable of the service. The King had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been configned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

(d) This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures ; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and kept them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from the imposts to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most ; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprized to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand horse, capable of good service in the field.

Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next spring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last, and it was concluded at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus : And in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia in Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas after this advanced towards Egypt through Damascene and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority.

(d) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

(e) Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already pass'd the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him an addition of new provinces to those he already possessed : But he was too steady * to be shaken by those offers in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to observe a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage : This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care. Neoptolemus saved himself with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus, but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid ; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of his army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which was entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were desirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, rememb'ring that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would list themselves under his banners, and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to

(e) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585--587. Diod. I. xviii. p. 610--613.

* Quem (Perdiccam) et si infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Corn. Nep. in Eum. c. 3.

be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, having caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus, and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very rude ; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the dishonour of Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him ; till at last, a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other, and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an antient friend whom he had always esteemed ; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

(f) In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very diffe-

(f) *Diod. I. xviii. p. 613-616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. 5.*

rent success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder were devoured by Crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Python was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy, and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to Antipater, Eumenes besieged by Antigonus in Neora. Jerusalem besieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Cassander, Antipater on his death-bed nominates Polysperchon for his successor in the regency. The latter recalls Olympius. Antigonus becomes very powerful.*

(g) **P**TOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp;

(g). Diod. l. xviii. p. 616--619.

54. The H I S T O R Y of

he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes and fifty other persons of the same party were declared enemies to the Macedonian state; and this decree authorized Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency: That there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: He therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridaeus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridaeus, history has taken no notice of

him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care, and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to them. Euridice, the consort of king Aridaeus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had sent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander. Python had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians, and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his designs.

(h) Jaddus the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this

(h) A. M. 3683. Joseph. antiqu. l. 11. c. 8.

remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors.

(i) Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes, and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. (k) The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy; for Eumenes took him, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot.

(l) A conjuncture, which happened soon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the heart of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged for his preservation to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced: for, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conspicuous: whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up, with five hundred men who were determined to share

(i) A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. Diod. l. xviii. p. 618--619.
(k) Plut. in Eumen. p. 588--590. (l) Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 5.

his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible, that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground, whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise; and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roofs of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pulleys, and in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree and forced them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

(m) The siege, or, more properly, the blockade of No-

(m) A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

ra, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus ; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

(n) During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy seeing of what importance Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view ; determined to make himself master of those provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon and took him prisoner ; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts ; by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests ; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia ; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

(o) After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judaea, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the Sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular ; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault ; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.

(n) Diod. p. 621, 622. (o) Joseph. Antiq. I. xii. c. 1.

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Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judaea with great severity, for he carried above a hundred thousand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt; but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

(p) Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops: but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia: but his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness, and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; *which, as he expressed himself, were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread,* ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude; and when

(p) Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

he had loaded him with insults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It was impossible that such a barbarous proceeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree, by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the most antient of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the same time, how amiable and glorious was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the public effectually; to extinguish the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue so much master of one's penetration, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the public welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the emperor Galba, which will do honour

to his memory throughout all ages. *Augustus* *, said he, chose a successor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire.

Cassander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that respect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they possess as hereditary, and with this flattering persuasion, that the state is of no consequence in comparison with themselves: Never examining what is requisite to the posts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to sustain them, and considering only whether those posts are agreeable to their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He also secured to himself all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less, than to divest him of the whole.

(q) To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party, and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia minor, in conjunction with the title of generalissimo, and an ar-

(q) Diod. p. 630.

* Augustus in domo successorem quaeſiuit: ego in republica. Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 15.

my of seventy thousand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of resisting. It cannot therefore be thought surprizing, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians ; and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridaeus from the government of lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

(r) Polysperchon neglected nothing on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest ; and thought it adviseable to recal Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess dispatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposal she had received ; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to see what turn affairs would take : adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received ; that it would also be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia, where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures, with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

(s) In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he if-

(r) Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 6.

(s) Diod. p. 631, 632.

sued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the King had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, he despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accomplishing this scheme, as soon as those who had been excluded from the government, should be reinstated in their ancient rights.

SECT. V. The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Cassander makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republic. His prudent administration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, against him. Olympias causes Ariæus to be slain, and is murdered in her return by the orders of Cassander. The war between him and Polysperchon. The re-establishment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death.

(t) **C**ASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of Piraeus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of suc-

(t) Diod. I. xviii. p. 638--642.

couring the city against Nicanor, but in reality, to seize it into his own power if possible, in consequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous assembly, in which Phocion was divested of his employment of general, while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polysperchon, who sent him back to be tried by the people. An assembly was immediately convoked on that occasion, from which neither slaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the established rules, notwithstanding which, Phocion and the other prisoners were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and covering their heads wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the slaves and strangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out, that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens for the person accused to declare, before the sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance, as he had formerly shewn, when he quitted the assembly to take upon him

the command of armes, and when the Athenians attended him in crouds to his own house with the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, *Will no body binder this man from acting so unworthily?* When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? Yes certainly, replied he, *it is to desire, that he would never remember the injustice of the Athenians.* When he had uttered these words, he took the hemlock and died.

On that day there was also a public procession, and it passed before the prison. Some of the persons who composed it took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledg'd it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of, *The Good**.

To punish † the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment is a guilt condemned in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

* Ob integritatem vitae Bonus est appellatus. Cor. Nep.

† Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum praeципue Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est ----- Quantum ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum aquissimis jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quam legibus uti maluerint? Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and believing some particulars were still wanting to compleat their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should contribute the least quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: these last offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph or vacant tomb to be erected to his memory on the same spot; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: *Dear and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser than they are at present.*

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last, it will however be always thought surprizing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides; or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice, ought to be considered as a blind, infatuated, and cruel monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be ex-

of these nights of subjection are obnoxious

pected from such a tribunal ? when people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion ; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws ; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit were united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterest higher than this extraordinary man ; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies ; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunder ! but Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves, always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal ; he could sometimes assume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced

with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion in others ; so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and policy two different professions ; and also for restoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Aristides, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, and especially in a republican government ; he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, and close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poinant and satiric style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. (u) An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclined to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that these elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this was for his glory ; and one day when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, shewed her, with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone : *For my part, I have no ornament*

(u) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

but Phocion, who, for these twenty years, has always been elected general of the Athenians.

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and, with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the public never gave way with him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law Charicles, who was summoned before the republic, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus, and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression. *I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest and honourable.* It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life: They are always starting difficulties *, when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. We must always deliberate whether what we request of such persons be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties to ancient friendship, affinity, or the advan-

* Haec prima lex in amicitia fanciatur, ut neque rogeamus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minime accipienda, cum in caeteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.

tage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus †. Phocion who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurr'd in opinion with those who acknowledg'd no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despis'd death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than them? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a

† *Ingenium illustre alioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit. non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmiter adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiae secutus est, qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, caeteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis animumerant-----Civis, senator, maritus, amicus, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.*
Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 5.

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brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others, who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

(x) Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piraeus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succour unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace ; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that those, whose income amounted to ten minae or a thousand drachmae, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualification for public employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to chuse what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th olympiad. The ten years government therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republic in peace ; he constantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildness and humanity ; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclinable to tyranny, but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republic, was invested with a kind of sovereign power, yet, instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived that he was master. As he united

(x) Diod. I. xviii. p. 642.

in his person the politician and the man of letters, his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used; that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous *; for he produced speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarize her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult therefore to have found a person capable of excelling him in the art of government, and the study of the sciences.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble structures ; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatres †, porticos, and new temples ; and openly censured Pericles, for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticos of the temple of Pallas, called (y) Propylaea. But in all the public feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

(z) The expence was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. De-

(y) Plut. in praecept. reip. ger. p. 818. (z) Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63---66.

* Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modo in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimin aciemque perduxit---Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinae studiis, et regenda civitate princeps esset, quis facile praeter hunc inveniri potest? Cic. l. iii. de leg. n. 15.

† Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundius reprehendo propter Pompeium : sed doctissimi improbant---ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Pericem, principem Graeciae, vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa propylaea conjecerit. Cic. l. ii. de Offic. n. 60,

metrius made a law to abolish this abuse which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, mensam; and he appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

(a) He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young persons to testify respect for their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves, when they were alone.

(b) The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, some of the descendants of Aristides; that Athenian general, who after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants, who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.

(c) Such, says Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.

The advantageous testimonials rendered by antient authors of the greatest repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenaeus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who supposes, that Duris, or Athenaeus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigo-

(a) Diod. Laert. (b) Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535. (c) Ælian, l. iii. c. 17.

nus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenaeus had cited from Duris. (d) The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

(e) During the 105th olympiad Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty one thousand (f) citizens, ten thousand (g) strangers, and * forty thousand (h) domestics.

(i) We now return to Polysperchon. When he had received intelligence, that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city ; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megara to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He dispatched Clitus to the Hellepont, with orders to prevent the enemies troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus and took all his fleet, except the vessel of Clitus, which escaped with great difficulty.

(k) Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up, for twelve months, in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest ; for

(d) Tom. 8. des memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres.

(e) Athen. I. vi. p. 272. (f) Αθηναῖς. (g) μετοίκους.

(h) οἰκεῖας.

(i) Diod. I. xviii. p. 642--646.

(k) Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

* The words in the original are μυριάς τεσσαράκοντα, forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thousand, which is an evident mistake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read τέσσερες, four myriads, which amount to forty thousand.

he had taken measures to that effect, before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia his countryman, and a famous historian of that time *, who was authorized by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negotiation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted, in the oath which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then desired the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, to determine which of these two forms was best ; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes ; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders however came too late ; for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and saved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled two thousand of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent dispatched to

* He compiled the history of those who divide the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

Eumenes in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia minor; others were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the King's treasures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expence of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

(l) Eumenes was very sensible of the accumulation of all these honours, on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums which were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprize of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation, to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the perogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to such a degradation. A ingenious fiction, disengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition,

(l) A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636. and 663. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591--593. Cor. Nep. c. 7.

which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and seldom fails of accomplishing its effect. He assured them, " That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his slumber, and shewn him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their counsels in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himself would be always present, seated on that throne ; from whence he would issue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their designs and enterprizes, provided they would always address themselves to him." This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince : in consequence of which they immediately ordered " a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander* ; and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his scepter and arms ; that all the chiefs should resort thither every morning to offer sacrifices ; that their consultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom." Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raised himself above the others, but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more positive manner.

(m) As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thousand men, in the season of spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy failed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempt by the emissaries he had in his camp, but neither the one, nor the other, could succeed then ; so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.

(m) Diod. l. xviii. p. 636----638.

He advanced, with these affectionate troops, into Syria and Phoenicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phoenicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitius, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Coelosyria, after which he passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Cares in Mesopotamia.

(n) During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings to be shewn them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, That they were ready to assist those monarchs, but that, as to his own particular, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to their command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their names, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus must therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them, at their pleasure, and by virtue of the first order, to that ef-

(n) Diod. l. xix. p. 660, 661.

fect, which would have destroyed all their ambitious pretensions with a single stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves, after his death, were solicitous to secure themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of Sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under a weak government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority, as subjected them to his orders. He issued them indeed in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and at the same time it created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprizes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

(o) Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he solicited all the governors of the provinces in upper Asia for succours. He had before notified

(o) Diod. I. xix. p. 662----664. Plut. in Eumen.

to them the order of the kings, and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all assembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same measures in the upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the lower, had caused Philotas to suffer death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him : not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces; which composed an army of above twenty thousand men. With this reinforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but still much superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in (p) Mesopotamia ; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

(q) During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polysperchon had recalled, had

(p) A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317.

(q) Diod. I. xix. p. 659, 660.

made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Ariædeus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of King, for six years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort sustained the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderers. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonia, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends, and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourse but only from Polysperchon, who was then in Perrhoebia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhoebia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her, in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of these persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley, to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidst their displeasure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore desirous of casting upon Providence, all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Cassander's design, or whether she was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered, with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a queen, or rather that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions, he therefore sent two hundred soldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her: but as resolute as they were in themselves, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty, which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary therefore, to employ in this murder,

the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death, and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited so tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impossible to see her perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

(r) Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attack them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect they testified for the royal family.

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne: It became necessary therefore to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander *, emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they shewed themselves insensible, at the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother, would affect them as little. He there-

(a) Diod. I. xix. p. 695--697.

* Haud ignarus summa sceleris incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio. Tacit.

fore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. In order to which he began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a good escort commanded by Glaucon, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended by his next step, to make it evident that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of King Philip, or Ariæus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the usage of such mourning as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the royal remains to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by these extiors of dissembled sorrow, to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Cassander to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhoëbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops, to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army in Boeotia, where the antient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years he endeavoured to re-instate it in its primitive splendor; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and

several towns and cities of Italy, Sicily and Greece, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions : By which means Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its antient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander the son of Polyperchon, and marched directly to Argos, that surrendered without resistance, upon which all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle ; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more advisable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

(s) As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any hesitation ; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately slain soon after, by some citizens of Sicyone, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it ; for Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, and as she was beloved by the soldiers and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, repelled the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle ; after which she caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up ; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with

(s) Dion. l. xix. p. 705--708.

a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.

(t) Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy, and having taken the field, the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications; for next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

(u) Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of those governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendor and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition *, but very customary with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleasure and gratify sense, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank; and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expences, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.

(x) A circumstance happened at this time, which ought

(t) A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316. (u) Diod. I. xix. p. 669--672.
Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592. (x) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

* Non deerant qui ambitione stolida---luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumenta belli mercarentur. Tacit.

to have undeceived them : As the soldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made some advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the same time, they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march, till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastning the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter : He then stretched out his bands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke loud acclamations of victory, and defiance to their enemies, as if they desired only to see their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and caused himself to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands ; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their cheerful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter, in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers, *Take notice,* said he, *of yonder litter ; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us, and is now preparing to attack us.* And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other Satrapae exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and dispose great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with abi-

lity. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications ; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently ruining themselves without thanks, by those ridiculous expences. I say without thanks, because no body thinks himself obliged them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

(y) The two armies having separated without any previous engagement, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several large pools of water between them ; and as they sustained great inconveniences because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus sent ambassadors to the Satrapae and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very antient fable. " A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of her father, whose answer was, that he esteemed this alliance a great honour to him ; and was ready to present his daughter to him, but that his large nails and teeth made him apprehensive lest he should employ them a little too rudely upon her, if the least difference should arise between them with relation to their household affairs. The lion who was passionately fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out. After which the father caught up a strong cudgel and soon drove away his pretended son-in-law. This, continued Eumenes, is the aim of Antigonus. He amuses you with mighty promises, in order to make himself master of your

(y) Diod. p. 672.

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forces, but when he has accomplished that design, he will soon make you sensible of his teeth and claws."

(z) A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of Antigonus, having acquainted Eumenes, that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at first suspected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous armies, and very commodious and secure for the troops, by reason of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore had resolved to prevent his execution of that design. With this view he prevailed, with sums of money, upon some foreign soldiers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the ensuing night. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was soon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention; and having ordered his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with so much expedition, that his march resembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at least six hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Phiton, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top, and Eumenes who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army, upon which he discontinued his march and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

(z) Diod. p. 672, 673.
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(a) The two armies were than drawn up; that of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horse, and above four thousand of his men were wounded: Eumenes lost five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his side, but as his troops notwithstanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which, among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day to desire leave to inter his slain; this was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

(b) A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the slain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood, the remainder of her days: She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife, but in the present instance, there were two; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years; to which the youngest replied, that

(a) *Diod. p. 673- 678.* (b) *Diod. p. 678---680.*

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the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends, and relations, and having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposite, which ought to be resigned to none but that Being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to a husband; that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

(c) During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dex-

(c) Diod. l. xix. p. 680---684.

terity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

(d) The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves neat enough to each other, to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for re-assembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprize these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprized in such a manner, but had the precaution to dispatch to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him, on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined, all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt that they might have time to recover themselves a

(d) Diod. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. 8—12.

little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary, for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the satrapae and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administred to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those Barbarians, and extinguish their jealousy; and he must have renounced his merit and virtue which occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them, by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phaedimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to

his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence, should be exposed to any accusation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. It was then, a thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind : could it possibly be prudent in him, to repose any confidence in those officers and generals, who had sworn his destruction ? might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him ? on the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence ; where he might hope for a free asylum from danger ? or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies ? for in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors ! this last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul ; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a first line, which

extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrios, where he was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this acclamation: *Villains! you now fight with your fathers!* they then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury, not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick gloom of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry, a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been compleat in the other. The capture of the

baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the soldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, they turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O soldiers," said Eumenes as he passed by them, "kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the name of all the gods! for though I perish by the command of Antigonus, my death will however be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords. If you are unwilling to do me that office with your own hands, permit me, at least, to discharge it by one of mine. That shall render me the service which you refuse me. On this condition I absolve you from all the severities you have reason to apprehend from the vengeance of the gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpetrate on me."

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetic addresses, that might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left scarce a single man in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: *As ye would an elephant, or a lion,* which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domestics to serve him, and permitted

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his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity re-kindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour; passionately desiring, in mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in prison.

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not indeed the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity; and prudent without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it, and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, spirited by a motive most capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws; Eumenes always retained inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitude of fortune, nor any elevation had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens *, that virtue creates enmities and aversions; because

* Industriae innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi.--etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. Tacit.

it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree ; or, in other words, he was a compleat master of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foresight, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures : But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and those sentiments of honour which prevailed in him, and were always inseparable from the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence and enflamed their envy ; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These satrapae, full of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from antient and illustrious families : As if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and consented to render him the utmost honours ; his death having extinguished all their envy, and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia ; poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans !

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S E C T. VI. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, form a confederacy against Antigonus : Who deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phoenicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, begins to make himself known in Asia minor. He loses a first battle, and gains a second. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Cassander causes the young King Alexander, and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules, another son of Alexander the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother Barsina, by Polysperchon. Antigonus causes Cleopatra, the sister of the same Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellus in Lybia.

(e) **A**NTIGONUS, concluding that he should be master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by too much merit. Python, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, who was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions, but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy, king of Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this

(e) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. Died. l. xix. p. 689--692.
and 697--698.

proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example therefore was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery; he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

(f) Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lysimachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by an express, of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The answers therefore which he received made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: Upon which he quitted the East, and advanced into Cilicia with very considerable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia minor, and then marched into Syria and Phoenicia.

(g) His design was to divest Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phoenicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprize the ships; for Ptolemy had already sent to Egypt all that could be found in Phoenicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken, but a con-

(f) A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Diod. p. 698--700.

(g) Diod. p. 700--703.

siderable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phoenicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels, and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypress trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed several thousand men. In a word, with these ships, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who with a hundred ships that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality, this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness as was very injurious to him. In order therefore to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them, he would have such a fleet at sea that summer as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

(h) But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phoenicia, Cassander gained upon him by land in Asia minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty two years of age, to defend Syria and Phoenicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.

(i) Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities ; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions.

(h) A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313. (i) Diod. p. 703.

and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any conditions whatever; and especially after a siege which had harrassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendor. This city was then the center of all the traffic of the East and West.

(k) Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be surnamed Poliorcetes *, which signifies Taker of Cities, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleasing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect †, and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuous inseparable from his feasts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the

(k) Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 890.

* The word is derived from πολιορκίαν, to besiege a city, whose root is πόλις, a city, and σφράξειν, a fence, a trench, a bulwark,

† Το γαρ αυτο χαριν και βαρος, και φοβον και αρνην ειχε, και συνηθιστο το νεκρω και ιστημι δυσμικητος πρωκη τις επιφανεια, και βασιλικη σεμψυτησ.

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other hand, as alluring as all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprize to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind : Nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affection or ceremony, but was sincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truly paternal, and extended to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created a union and confidence between them, entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chace, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, but he ordered them to be introduced a second time ; *You may likewise inform your masters, said he, of the manner in which my son and I live together.* Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms *, and that this good intelligence that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

(1) Antigonus having passed into Asia, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms ; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renew-

(1) Diod. l. xix. p. 10.

* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

ing the war. The violation of treaties were considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to those as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government, and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common no longer appears shameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over him in another quarter.

(m) He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles king of Paphos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the queen Axithaea and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king.

(m) *Diod. l. xx. p. 761.*

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The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became master of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phoenicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners: he likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phoenicia on the frontiers of upper Syria, and to abandon all Phoenicia, Palestine, and Caelosyria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends and domestics, without any ransom, and caused it to be declared to him, *That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory;* and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coast of Phoenicia submitted to him, except the city of Tyre; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him, but he was deceived again. The King of Egypt, instead of any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him, when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprize, might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle, without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, *Ptolemy has defeated boys, but shall soon have men to deal with;* and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his forces against Ptolemy.

(n) Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully persuaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had

(n) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat : but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took seven thousand of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by his victory, affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself with respect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends loaded with magnificent presents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner ; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.

(o) Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carrae, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent, and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his antient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province ; whilst the severity of Antigonus was universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the castle,

(o) Diod. p. 726---728.

but as Seleucus was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress; and there found his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus in Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly re-instated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to surprise him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from the apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with an handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him, in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

(p) With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous *Aera* of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews called it the *Aera of Contracts*, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian king, they were obliged to insert it

(p) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311.

into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the Æra of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who declare that the Sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Æra of the Greeks, and use it in their dates, with this difference however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

(q) Antigonus was at Celaenae, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. He crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phoenicia, Judaea, and Coelosyria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

(r) The inhabitants of these provinces, who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any constraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment: they were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as

(q) Diod. p. 729.
Appian. l. i. & 2.

(r) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr.

he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very easy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He therefore settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judaea, rendered many more of the inhabitants desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there, under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians; and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

(s) Antigonus, after he had re-possessed himself of Syria and Judaea, sent Athenaeus, one of his generals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made several inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a desert country. Athenaeus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprize in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot; regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenaeus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings, but as soon as he had af-

(s) Diod. p. 730--733.

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ALEXANDER's Successors. LIX

sembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers : but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

(t) Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither, at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to join him, after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled the army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon ; and as Seleucus, was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who had been entrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all saved themselves ; some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the desarts, and the rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege, till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince therefore left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure he caused Babylon to be plunder-

(t) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 313. Diqd. p. 735, 736. Plat. in Demetr. p. 891.

ed; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus: even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, that immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he re-took the castle they had possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This therefore is the Epochæ to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia place it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

(n) Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus, and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Asia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is surprizing, that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much in disgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was, the

(v) *Diod.* p. 739. *Plut.* in *Demetr.* p. 892.

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extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any satisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient, and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with the state of his affairs. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding, the destruction of his own measures, caused the young King and his mother Roxana to be secretly put to death, in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

(x) Polyperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon him to sacrifice the young prince to Cas-

(x) A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. Diod. l. xx. p. 769, 761. &c
766, 767.

sander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered the same fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander; and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander their master and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and, at the same time, so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

(y) Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles King of Paphos to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island,

(z) In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

(a) He then sailed into the Aegean sea, and made him-

(y) Diod. p. 760. (z) Diod. p. 766. (a) A. M, 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. Diod. p. 774. Ibid. 775.

self master of the isle of Andros ; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander king of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia ; but as Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her over to his interest. With this intention, he invited her to an interview in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then secretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arms of the Almighty fell upon all the race of Alexander, and with what severity it pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse consumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers and domestics, to render the severity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the Deity, in the execution of his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wished he could

be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But so deep a strain of hypocrisy as this, usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it;

This barbarous and unmanly action, was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power, on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations; but the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governour of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection much about this time, gave him a just inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no sinister effect. This officer had served first under Aleksander, and after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy entrusted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When these two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engag'd with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

(b) Agathocles, King of Sicily, having marched into Africa

to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Lybia and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECT. VII. Demetrius the son of Antigonus, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a Democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded there retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours rendered by the Athenians to Antigonus and his son Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius assume the title of Kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterprize against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful.

(b) **A**NTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery, by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish Aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his in-

(b) A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

verest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the indignation of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedaemonians, by the Athenians and Persians, that had always succeeded ; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon this measures in a better manner, than by opening the scene with the signal of democratic liberty in Athens, which was not only the most jealous, but was likewise at the head of all the other republics.

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that, if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece ; but he entirely rejected that proposal, and replied, " That the best and strongest key which he knew, was the friendship of the people ; and that Athens being in a manner the light by which all the world steer'd, would not fail to spread universally the glory of his actions." It is very surprising to see in what manner princes who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour by assuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens with five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the space of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Cassander ; and the republic, as I have already observed, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and sixty; for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny *, was limited to this number of days. An honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

* Nonnulli anno hunc numerum diuinum excedunt. Plin. l. xxiv. c. 6.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains, and principal officers, were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a signal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side: "That his father Antigonus had sent him, under happy auspices, to reinstate the Athenians in the possession of their liberty, and to drive the garrison out of their citadel, and to re-establish their laws, and ancient plan of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their Preserver and Benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised: Upon which they immediately dispatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their submissions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good disposition towards them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as an hostage, at their dismission. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in consequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this

great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person, and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians that he was determined not to see their city, and that as desirous as he was to visit it, he would not so much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that incroached upon their liberties. At the same time he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised good intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Cratesipolis the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Poly-sperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patrae, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patrae, and when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratesipolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be apprized of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; so that he was on the very point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and reinstated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon *, a celebrated

* Megara Demetrius cuperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset: nihil, in-

philosopher, lived in that city, and was visited by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost any thing? *Nothing at all*, replied Stilpon, *for I carry all my effects about me*; meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy, not to consider death itself as a calamity?

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves in general were taken, and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, caressed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him, in an entire state of freedom. *What you say, my Lord, is certainly true*, replied the philosopher, *for you have not lost so much as one slave in it.*

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Mytilene, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then assembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of government, promising, at the same time, that his father should send them a hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building an hundred gallies, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of King on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither these, nor any

quit; omnia namque mea mecum sunt.-----Habebat enim secum
vera bona, in quae non est manus injectio.-----Haec sunt, iustitia,
virtus, temperantia, prudentia; et hoc ipsum, nihil, hominum putare
quod eripi possit.-----Cogita nunc, an huic quisquam facere injuriam
possit, cui bellum et hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium
proficiat, eripere nihil poterit. Senec. de Cons. lop. c. 5. et Ep. 42

of the other princes, had ever had the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of *Tutelar Deities*; and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenaea, and by an excess of adulation, scarce credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot*; and they added to the ten antient tribes two more, which they stiled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus*. They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called *Theoroi*, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democrides, who proposed, "that in order to the more effectual consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper persons should be dispatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they shoud enquire of this tutelar deity, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, so as to celebrate with the greatest promptitude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and that the people would comply with all the directions of the oracle, on that occasion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered, in respect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgement they

had rendered to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In which he, however, had only pursued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. (c) They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to suffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their resentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, *At least,* said he, *it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me, by which those statues were deserved.*

What estimation is to be made of these honours, which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that have been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours, upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy, when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities: Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, as infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been a-

(c) Diog. Laert.

niversally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many public testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just, and they imagined that a solemn and authentic condemnation would supply the defects of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to insults. Menander, that celebrated Poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There are some reasons to believe, that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reason, after the death of Cassander, to be apprehensive of all things from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

(d) His reception at that court was as favourable as possible, and the King, according to Ælian, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince: lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared, that they never came to him in his prosperity, till he first had sent for them, but that they always

(d) Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. de exil. p. 601.

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visited him in his adversity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of solace to his mind *, and cherished in those sentiments of humanity, with which it was so largely replenished. How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude, or a state of exile; to a man solicitous of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself and the public!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour to one man; will undoubtedly below some reflections on the strange difference he discovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now desirous of. A very judicious author (e) has a fine remark on this occasion. All the recompence, says he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people being afterwards softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit. But the effects of servile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a considerable degree, in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. (f) The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with those of so many others,

(e) Corn. Nep. in Miltiad. c. 6. (f) Plut. in praecep. rep. ger. p. 620.

* Multa praeclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbatus; sed animi cultus illo erat ei quasi quicdam humanitatis cibus. Cic. de Finib. Bon. & Mal. l. 3. n. 94.

I had much rather, said he, people should enquire why I have none, than why I have any.

True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consisted in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age; whereas a profusion of honours through flattery, or the apprehensions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

(g) Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice the widow of Ophellas. He had already had several wives, and, among the rest, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. *Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination* *. As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to the resentments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens, for infamous excesses.

(h) In a short time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him with a strong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius

(g) Plut. in Demetr. p. 894. (h) Diod. l. xix. p. 783-789.
Plut. in Demetr. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

* Οὐδὲ τὸ περδοῦ, παρέπει γαμτίον. It was περδοῦ, a man must serve.

being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with the most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more, who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elate with this success, would undertake the siege of Salamina, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he sent three couriers post to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the siege with which he was threatened: they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its forces, and those of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I shall give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inha-

habitants of Salamina piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering-rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire; but this cost them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced as soon as possible to his assistance. The battle, for which both parties prepared, after some ineffectual exertions of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the spot, but in all the absent princes and commanders. The success appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and threw them into disorder, amidst the first heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those sixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who would be obliged to save themselves by swimming; after which he sailed into the open sea, with an hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the lines of

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battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of seventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains therefore of Ptolemy's train, and baggage, with his domestics, friends, and wives, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war on board the store-ships that lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition, after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships and land-forces, which last consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother, and the other the son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners: He also dismissed them, with their friends and domestics, and all their baggage, without any ransom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. * With so much more generosity, disinterest and politeness did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewise selected out of the spoils, twelve hundred complete suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly re-inforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his son was

* Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiae contumur. Justin.

to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a compleat victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people, at the same instant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians when they were informed of this proceeding, were also no less industrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not seem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lysimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the East; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped the supreme authority there, without presuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their discourse and letters to him, continued to write his, in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pomp and loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

(i) Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

(i) A. M. 5699. Ant. J. C. 305. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

(k) Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of an hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should dispossess Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous: but the impatience of Antigonus to surprize Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march, such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but, what was still more afflictive to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemies resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two minae, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompence soon allureth great numbers to receive it, especially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed

(k) Diod. l. xx. p. 304--806. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896--896.

upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, became sensible of his inability to enter Egypt; that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion, and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country; was obliged to return into Syria in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lysimachus, Cassander and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epochæ on the seventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. Protegenes, a celebrated painter, spared during the siege.

(1) **A**NTIGONUS was almost fourscore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but little qua-

(1) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Diod. p. 809—813, et 817—825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, et 898.

lified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance ; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part ; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other ; and for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius ; and it may be justly said, that curiosity, and a fine turn of mind for the sciences, were inseparable from him. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments ; others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it ; his galleys, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts ; and his engines, called *Helepoles*, were a surprizing spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of,

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and who was studious on its own part, to oblige them, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in

those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital interest to preserve as free as possible, with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as interest, secretly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they intreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, as prudent and well concerted as it really was, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces; and when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions; and more than an hundred and seventy transports, that carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry, and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This

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prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the besieged had above a hundred military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to six thousand citizens, and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of dominion, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens would bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the sons should be of age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a compleat suit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great solemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the siege, and the soldiers pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for their promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making Catapultas and Ballistas; others formed different machines equally necessary: a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion; so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first set out three good sailors against a small fleet of sutlers and merchants, who supplied the enemy with provisions: They sunk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners who were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds) should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half the sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the master-piece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two Tortoises to be erected on two flat prahms or barks he joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, with the Catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four stories were erected at the same time, which

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exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers were placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, beside these tortoises and towers, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick; through which stakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistes or cross-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for shooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given, with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose, as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the

wall, where he posted four hundred soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with good palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and the loss being almost equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The besieged, who had been instructed at their own expense, in what manner the night was capable of being improved, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port, during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port, and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged: But they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and disengaged the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged great stones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers then made a furious adyance

to seize the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this post was of the last importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progres. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade, by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besieged so effectually, that they scarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple; and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed seven days in refitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention most, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming-straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered

the mole without interruption. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigor and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames, which had seized the vessels of the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exaceltes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and use all possible means to join the vessels, that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with a surprizing expedition and address; and the three galleys, after they had shattered and broke through the floating batteries already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings: Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it: But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exaceltes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himself; and in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was completed, he caused it to be placed near the port, which he was resolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a hideous tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

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avourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulsed several times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners to the number of four hundred men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more whom Ptolemy sent from Egypt; most of them being Rhodians who had listed themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius being extremely mortified to see all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He therefore prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called * *Helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was square, and each of its sides had an extent of seventy-five feet. The machine itself was an assemblage of large square beams, riveted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the superstructure. The jaunts of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *Helepolis*, care had been taken to place casters under it, whose volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

* See this machine further described with the plate of it, Vol. XI.

† Mons. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (*Antisfrepta*) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word, Caster, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in such a manuer as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of a room.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each story had two large stair-cases, one for the ascent of the men, their other for their descent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artisans and others, employed on these works, amounted to near thirty-thousand men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the Helepolis; and in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault: in order to which the Helepolis was moved to a

situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides, by four small machines called tortoises, each of which had a covered gallery, to secure those who should either enter the Helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On each side was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron, terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with impregnable force by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture, the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies ships which cruized in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port; one was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as much barley. This seasonable and

abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies machines, and with this view, ordered a body of soldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries and set them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the Helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire; but as the troops within that moving tower, quenched it with water, as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. However, Demetrius was apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed; to prevent which, he caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and a proper computation made, he became sensible that the inhabitants must have more than eight hundred engines of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded; and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to improve the relaxation they

enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which the enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall in the form of a crescent along the ditch; and which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the nimblest ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels freighted with corn, and other necessaries sent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia. Demetrius having reinstated his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The King, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus, and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemies with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it.

The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that, after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the posts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there, dispatched orders to their officers and soldiers, not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared than an universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women and children who continued in the city, and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their posts with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to

take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant deputies from Aitolia arrived at his camp, to sollicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

(m) If what Vegetius relates of the Helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his Helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined, which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege, and it is, at least, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after upon the following terms. There-

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public of Rhodes and all its citizens should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to any power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver an hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

(n) Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition ; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These they afterwards sold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thousand crowns) which they employed, with an additional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, which was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full sail passed between its legs ; the height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could clasp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake ; of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity ; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed it, and contained a space of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemaeon ; and out of a flattery, as customary in those days, as impious in itself, divine honours were rendered to him in that place :

(n) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7.

And, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a Saviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and therefore reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them, a circumstance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted, was in the suburbs without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work.

The King was surprized at his conduct, and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding; *It is,* replied he, *because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences.* Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually shewed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and never sufficiently admired the application of that master to his art, and his surprizing excellency in it.

The master-piece of this painter was the *Jalysus*, an historical picture of a person of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledg'd as their founder, though only a [†] fabulous hero. Protogenes had employed several years in finishing this piece, and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed

[†] He was the son of Orchimus, whose parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and island derived their name.

him for some time ; and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work indeed ! Admirable performance ! It has not however the graces I give my works, and which have raised their reputation to the skies.* If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himself to this work, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life §, that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny ; but it was at last destroyed by fire. The same Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was saved by this picture ; because as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest †, than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting into a surprizing extreme ; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog * that was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great application, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting and with his mouth foaming as after a long chace ; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on that occasion, without being able to content him-

§ He subsisted himself on boiled Lupines, a kind of pulse which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

† Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriae.

* Est in ea canis mire factus, ut quem parker casus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in ea spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisset. Displacebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, & videbatur nimia, ac longius a veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile, vellat. Absterferat faepius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi probans. Postremo iratus arti quod intelligeretur, spongiam eam impegit, inviso loco tabulae, & illa reposuit ablatis coloris, qualiter cura optabat : fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

self. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the very sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that tho' Apelles * almost regarded him as his master, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. *We ought, says Cicero †, to know how far we should go; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing when to have done.*

SECT. IX. *The expedition of Selucus into India. Demetrius compels Cassander to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Selucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipsus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is slain, and Demetrius put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They

* Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curae supra modum anxie miraretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi meliora, sed uno se praestare, quod manum ille de tabula nesciret tollere: memorabili praeceps, nocere saepe nimiam diligentiam. Plin. ibid.

† In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus. In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebag, qui non sentirent quid esset satis. Orat. n. 73.

at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become entirely independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of those other governors, who were weaker or less successful than themselves: to this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, and which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portion as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprizes in which they engaged.

(o) Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of interest with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phoenicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were in-

(o) A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303.

cluded in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue by a sudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces, but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furnish him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the fruit of so much blood shed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after led his troops into the west against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.

(p) The Athenians, at the same time, called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, who besieged their city. He accordingly set sail with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylae, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily: he also admitted into his service six thousand Macedonians, who came over to his side.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already lavished upon him all the

(p) Diod. l. xx. p. 825--828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that out-did the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had so much sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous and crying debaucheries. His courtesans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. (q) He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches for their mean compliance; and creatures born only for slavery; so much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius *

Democles, surnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, chusing rather to die than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, *that it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, should be considered as sacred in regard to the gods, and just with regard to men.* Is it possible to believe, that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius after these proceedings retired into Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and several others where he had garrisons: and as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing

(q) *Athen.* l. vi. p. 153.

* *Memoriae proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egredieretur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum: "O homines ad servitatem paratos!" scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam noller, tam projectae servientium patientiae taedebat.* Tacit. *Annal.* l. iii. c. 65.

prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Eacides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

(r) The states of Greece being assembled in the Isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior, so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms, and the flattery lavished upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March †, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonials prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order issued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courtesans in her company for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum to a greater degree than their contribution to it.

(r) Plat. in Demetr. p. 900.

† There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comic poet, who said, that Lamia was a true *Helepolis*. We have already shewn, that the Helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius, for attacking towns.

(s) Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace, without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lysimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made evident that he had no less in view than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other, to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lysimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lysimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, after which they hastened into Asia, to make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having judged it expedient, that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius; and that the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too destitute of forces. Lysimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement; passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and either by treaty or force re-

(s) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 302. Diod. l. xx. p. 839-836.
Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treasury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook several places in his march. Lysimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the succours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

(t) Seleucus, at the beginning of the next season, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lysimachus upon his arrival in Asia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phoenicia, Judaea, and Coelosyria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Si-

(t) A. M. 3703. Aut. J. C. 301.

culus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

(u) The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemies forces consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight: but a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, which generals can never suspect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory, he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he only made several feint attacks upon them, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the same instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained

(u) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

their efforts for some time; but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Ephesus, with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which were all that remained of more than sixty thousand men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. (x) The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of fifty-five years; namely, the last fifteen years of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had already reigned twenty-three, which with the other fifteen make thirty-eight; and forty-eight years more, being the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus,

SECT. I. *The four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great into as many kingdoms. Seleucus builds several cities. Athens shuts her gates against Demetrius. He reconciles himself with Seleucus, and afterwards with Ptolemy. The death of Cassander. The first actions of Pyrrhus. Athens taken by Demetrius. He loses all he possessed almost at the same time.*

(y) **A**FTER the battle of Ipsus, the four confederate Princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander, was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coelosyria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia and Greece: Lysimachus Thrace, Bithinia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosporus: And Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The

(x) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384. (y) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

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dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch, in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which he was followed by his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidae. This kingdom however not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicanor, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

These four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of

* And as I was considering, behold an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat was waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and from it came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven. Dan. chap. 8. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen. The ram, which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Greece, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

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the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy †.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, *four stood up for it.* But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretels. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out their nation, that was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and

† After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it, four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it, Dan. vii. 6.

specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which at the time of being denounced, were so remote from probability; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

(z) Onias, the first of that name, and high-priest of the Jews died at this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who, for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was surname *The Just.* He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

(a) Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master of upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orentes, and gave it that name either from his father or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capital of the East for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

(b) Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the rest. The first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at

(z) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. (a) A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

(b) Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely surprized and offended, when he was met in his way, by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings : they also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among whom was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them he sailed towards the Chersonesus ; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lysimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who began to recover their vigour, and render themselves formidable anew.

Lysimachus, King of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters named Arsinoe ; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

(c) This double alliance between Lysimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratobice the daughter of that prince by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to do

(c) A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

mand her in marriage ; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents *, were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicing for the nuptials, and the entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended her days. (d) Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy ; by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect ; for he had all the island of

(d) A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298.

* Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, besides his new conquests in Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shews that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed *.

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was King. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time, he failed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned: For as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

* Chap. 1. verse 9, 10.

(e) Cassander died, about this time, of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine years from the death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

(f) Pyrrhus, the famous King of Epirus, had espoused Antigona, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Eacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolters, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of King Glaurias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander the mortal enemy of Eacides, solicited the King to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion: Glaurias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person into Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaurias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle.

(e) A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 297.
383--385.

(f) Plut. in Pyrrh. p.

Pyrrhus, being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest, in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius, even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting exercises, and all other labours. Observing that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite consort, in preference of several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the Queen had so much influence over her consort as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet with a supply of money which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledg'd that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

(g) Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. (h) A fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, sent by king Ptolemy, to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and fled.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person, even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he shewed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction: but he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and

(g) A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demetr. p. 994, 905. (h) A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

restored them to his favour ; presenting them, at the same time, with an hundred thousand measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected ; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character !

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedaemonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinea to meet him ; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight : after which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious ; five hundred of the enemies were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The first was, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia ; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired ; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife and children of his enemy their liberty without any ransom : and to dismiss them with all their attendants, and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon ; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus in a very short time he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resource or hopes for the future.

Sect. II. Dispute between the two sons of Cassander for the crown of Macedonia. Demetrius being invited to the assistance of Alexander, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed king of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. Pyrrhus is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison.

NO prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more sudden changes than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter he had not the least room to expect it.

(i) In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica their mother favoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his af-

(i) A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

fairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with his compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They however conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts, till at last, Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true, or contrived, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him King of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip King of Macedonia became entirely extinct by the death of Cleopatra, and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced by a just decree of Providence the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

(k) Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by six hundred thousand persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being

(k) A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 292. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738 & 743.
l. vi. c. 26.

broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable; by which means that city became so incommodious, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. (l) I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

(m) Simon, surnamed the Just, and high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the function of it for the space of fifteen years.

(n) I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations, for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above an hundred thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen, since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then; and Ptolemy Philopater did not build one of forty benches till

(l) Vol. II. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus,

(m) A. M. 3712. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

(n) A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. Plut. in Demetr. p. 909, & in Pyrsh. p. 386; Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

many years after this period †; but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

(n) Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus was carrying on the same operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece, for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Berea, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp, and superb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedo-

(n) A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287.

† This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty foot) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two foot) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred sailors, beside four thousand rowers, and near three thousand soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. Plut. in the life of Demetrius.

nizhs, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so impious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech, or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axios †, he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollect'd, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leisure to hear her. Be no longer King then, replied she with some emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSABLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE §.

† A river of upper Macedonia.

§ Οὐδὲν γῆρας τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκονεῖ, οὐ τῷ δίκαιῳ φρύγει.

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers over their liquor had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard? Yes, my Lord, replied one of the company, and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine. Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this factious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free of vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to that of Alexander *, but a good matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer perhaps not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him, the aspect of that prince;

* A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander, in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him, which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 552, 553.

with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him. But with respect to the art military, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot therefore be thought surprizing that the Macedonians, who entertained such prejudices in his favour, and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus : And one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interest by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude ; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

(o) As Lysimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince, to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them : But this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions : For, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains so near, and which might prove so commodious to them ? This was a moderation not to be expected ; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root

(o) Plut, in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin; to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice. Again, continues the same author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce or transient suspension of their unjust views?

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise, and more impunity. May heaven grant that those complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose; and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprizes, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's disgust of Pyrrhus, and inflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully, in choosing a stranger for their master, whom interest, not affection, had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and of their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, kings have no reason to blame other persons, for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as in acting so, they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learnt from their whole conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates a utter disregard for justice, veracity, and faith in the observance of engagements.

(p) With respect to the affairs of Demetrius; that prince, when he found himself deserted by his troops, retired to the city of Cassandria *, where his consort Phila resided: This lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to about eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

(q) Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; by which means he at last made himself master of Sardis: But, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route, was to surprize Armenia, and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with

(p) Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911. (q) Plut. in Demetr. p. 912--915.

* A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in upper Macedonia.

the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and intreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and dispatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without incurring many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity; but if he should not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he intreated his consent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions, and begged that prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design he had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his diffidence, and he consented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards, at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria,

which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs, but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprize Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design, time enough to prevent its effect; and the desertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and to join his fleet; but he found the passes so well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Cibersoneus of Syria near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniences of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow, and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations, in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The

King of Syria was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal, and in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting, and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves; but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy; and no longer amused himself with his former exercises: He grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with design to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity and temperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surname Gonates, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

Sect. III. Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city; with an academy of learned men. Demetrius Balereus presides over both.

(r) **P**TOLEMY Soter, the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the stile of King, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus †, one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, surnamed *Ceraunus*, or the Thunderer, who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, so exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son, to all his issue by the other queens. In order therefore to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue, after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age; he resolved to have him crowned in his own life-time, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the end of this action.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lymachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and

(r) A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Justin. I. xvi.

† The word signifies, a lover of his brethren; but Ptolemy received this surname, agreeably to a figure of speech called Antiphrasis, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. Panian. l. i. p. 52.

after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

(s) In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was also the first year of the cxxivth Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was compleated. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before*. Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.

(t) Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the King of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus

(s) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Said. in Pharos.

(t) A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 284. Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 63, & 64. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 33.

† Vol. I. In the history of Egypt.

Marcellinus, (u) surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

(x) Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musaeum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophic studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors. (y) His son Philadelphus left a hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes.

(z) This library was formed by the following method. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musaeum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose; The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents, (equal to fifteen thousand crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Musaeum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they

(u) Am. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 76. (x) Arrian. in Praef. Plat. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1093. (y) Euseb. in Chon. (z) Galen.

began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its daughter, and in process of time had in it three hundred thousand volumes.

(a) In Caesar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes. Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased †, when speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the elogium made on it by Livy, who stiles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wise attention for the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding these magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Anthony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first; and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which

(a) Plut. in Caesar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. 32. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. 42. p. 202.

† Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriae arserunt, pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiae regum curaeque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: imo, ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum, comparaverant. Pareatur itaque librorum quantum sit nihil in apparatum. Senec. de anim. c. 9.

happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

(b) John, surnamed the Grammian, and a famous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria, when it was taken: And as he was much esteemed by *Amri-Ebnol-As*, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request, but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head; without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly writ to Omar the then Khalif, whose answer was, that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination; and to that effect, were distributed into the public bagnios, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Museum of Bruchion was not burnt with its library. (c) Strabo acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president,

(b) Abul-Pharagius, in hist. Dynast. IX. (c) Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

whose nation was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the King himself, and afterward by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate together at the expence of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this museum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning, but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him that they would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the King had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, had prevailed upon the King to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

(d) We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He

(d) Plut. in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal.

consulted him preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. (e) This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown, in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create himself a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

(f) Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the ablest and most worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne, the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses, and when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. (g) And when some persons represented to him,

(e) A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 283. (f) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

(g) Plut. in Apoph. p. 181.

that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, *That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself.*

SECT. IV. *The magnificent solemnity, at the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenaeus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers, for his particular description of that of Paules Aemilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give, should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare before-hand, that the relation will be something tedious.

(b) This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the circus of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.

Athenaeus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some ha-

(b) Athen. l. v. p. 297----203.

habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni, came a band of Satyrs, composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, streaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, cloath'd in purple vests; each of them supporting a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty Satyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right-hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caducus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six foot in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very amiable woman, as tall as himself, dress'd in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris *.

The next in the procession were the genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguish-

* This word signifies the space of five years, because at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

ivy and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of Satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these were seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, daucers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the Athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths : the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed these. It had four wheels *, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by 180 men. In this chariot was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Laconic manner, and containing fifteen measures, called metretes †: this was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other mini-

* All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

† This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds most with the Roman Amphora; but was somewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

sters and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vases^{*}.

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevel'd, and wore crowns composed some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa or Nysa sitting §, twelve feet high, and cloathed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machine that was not touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsis adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty Satyrs trod the grapes, to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole progress.

Another chariot of the same magnitude was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopards' skins sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine, during the procession.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned Satyrs and Sirens, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

* Myrrha Vannus Iacci. Virg.

§ He is thought to have been the name of Bacchus.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing six hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and an half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great vats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least five. There were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presbs, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length; and thirty more, of six; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphic tripods, all of silver, and something less than the preceding. They were likewise accomplished with twenty-six beakers, sixteen flaggons, and an hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six metretes, and the smallest, two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which called Laconius, were crowned with vine leaves. There were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight metretes; a wine-presb, on which ten goblets were placed; two other vases, each of which contained five Metretes; and two more that held a couple of measures; twenty-two vessels, for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least, one; four golden tripods of an extraordinary size; a kind of goblet-basket intended as a repository for

vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height: two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten beakers: and an altar four feet and an half high: and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched sixteen hundred youths habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others of them with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a chariot thirty three feet in length, and twenty one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine-leaves: several pigeons, ring-doves and turtles issued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains likewise, one of milk, and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and cloathed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same

metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine-branches; and blowing a kind of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vests, and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came an hundred and twenty Satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned Satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by *Oryxes*, a species of goats; fifteen by buffalos; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, cloathed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine; and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mulies. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried three hundred pound weight of incense; others two hundred of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, matched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants teeth; another, two thousand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold-dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by 150 men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared a hundred and thirty sheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Euboea; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a camelion[†]; and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive-branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these, was a great vase filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by several women richly attired, and bearing the names of the Iomian, and other Greek cities in Asia; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrsus, a hundred and

[†] This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace, *Diversum confusa gentis panthera canis*.

thirty-five feet in length, and a silver lance eighty feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these, came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band, marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an *Aegis* * hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thousand pieces of gold †, each containing four drachmas.

In this procession were likewise three hundred golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four tresses of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, having six

* A kind of buckler which covered the breast.

† The Attic Stater, usually called *χρυσες*, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this single crown amounted to a hundred thousand French livres, which are about five thousand pounds sterling.

feet in their altitude ; and there were six others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high ; several animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long ; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length sixty feet ; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference ; a double horn, twelve feet long ; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession ; together with a consecrated crown, containing a hundred and twenty feet, undoubtedly in its circumference ; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height ; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high. On this latter was the representation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length ; with an oaken crown embellished with jewels ; twenty golden bucklers ; sixty-four compleat suits of golden armour ; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length ; twelve basons ; a great number of flagons ; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths ; twelve beakers ; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables : all these were of gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets ; and a horn of solid gold, forty-four feet in length. All these golden vessels and other ornaments, were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots loaded with vessels, and other works of silver ; twenty others filled

with golden vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand and six hundred foot, and twenty-three thousand horse, all drest and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and publick combats, which continued for some days, after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minae, about three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred pounds sterlinc: From whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence, (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comic strain?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman whom I have formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am perswaded that the sight of it in all its parts, would have proved insupportable to him; and am inclined so think he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age.^{*}

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of

* Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tedium non pae, non reticuerit merito se plecti, qui triumphum tam incepte senex concupisset. Sueton. de Vespaf. c. 12.

taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Catiline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out, says he, and torment their gold and silver, by all imaginable methods," (I must intreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation) "and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches." *Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant†: tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt.* In such profusions as these, did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and a waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to public view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducting to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the specta-

† These metaphorical terms, 'trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt,' may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletae, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming her riches.

tors, and induce an utter depravity of manners ; by presenting to their view all the utensils of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods ! What divinities must those be, that would exact, or so much as suffer so scandalous a pomp in their worship !

SECT. V. *The commencement of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The death of Demetrius Phalereus. Seleucus resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus ; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoe are murdered by their brother Ceraunus, who also banishes that prince. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphi. Antigonus establishes himself in Macedonia.*

(i) **P**TOLEMY Philadelphus, after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependant on it, that is to say, Phoenicia, Coelo-syria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. (k) But at last the bite of an aspic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

(i) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. (k) Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

The testimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government; we therefore shall only consider what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places *, were sweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwise not dignified to any great degree with rich sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and the sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier enured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed the faculty of affecting his hearers with something grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the sallies of a rich and lively

* Demetrius Phalerus in hoc numero haberi potest: disputer fobillis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possit agnoscere. Offic. l. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalerus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quam palestra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Procederat enim in solem & pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. — Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate ea, qua perfundebat animos, non qua perfringeret: & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae, non quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum deflatione aculeos etiam relinquenter in animis corum a quibus esset auditus. De clar. Orat. n. 37. & 38.

imagination, not always guided by the judgment; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiate and deprave the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time*, had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and languishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered a false taste predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains survived Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: and as they were now advancing to the period of their days, (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war, became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. (1) The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Euridice, and Berenice of Arsinoe. The arrival

(1) Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.

* Haec zetas effudit hanc copiam; &c. aut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis, incorruptus usque ad hanc zetatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus, nitor. -- Hic (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit. De clar. Orat. n. 36-38.

of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.

(m) Before he engaged in this enterprize, he resigned his queen Stratonice, to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate; and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the Physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the inquietude of a father who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age; whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of

(m) A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 282. Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126--128.

all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady ; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The Physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her consort ; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion. Such for instance, as a suppression of voice ; burning blushes ; suffusion of sight, cold sweat ; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse ; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterward alone with his patient, he managed his enquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it : he added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts, in such a conjuncture, particularly, the respect due from him to a father and sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved ; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour ; the folly of harbouring a design he ought never to be desirous of gratifying ; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent, and King! When Seleucus made the next enquiry after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprized and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? because she is my wife, replied the physician, and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another. And will you not part with her then, replied the King, to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love! Is this the friendship you profess for me! Let me intreat you, my lord, said Erasistratus, to imagine yourself for one moment in my place, would you resign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice, for the welfare of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should do it? I would resign Stratonice, and my empire to him, with all my soul, interrupted the King. Your majesty then, replied the Physician, has the remedy in your own hands; for he loves Stratonice. The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort: after which his son and that princess were crowned King and queen of upper Asia. (n) Julian the apostate, relates in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus could not espouse Stratonice, till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shews us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart of an unlawful passion capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of life.

(o) Seleucus being now eased of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He therefore

(n) In Mislop.

(o) Justin. l. xvii. c. 7, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Meleagor, Excerpt apud Phot. c. 9. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 3. 23. Polyzen. 4. 9.

put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia minor. All the country submitted to him as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took ; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysimachus.

(p) This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia *, but was defeated and slain ; in consequence of which Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure † on this occasion resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves ; for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This last victory, was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the Conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occasion, was of no long continuance ; for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations : for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition, intending, when it should be compleated, to employ the same forces, for his establishment on the throne of his

(p) A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

* Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls *xopwrisios*, instead of *xopwrisios*, the field of Cyrus ; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

† Laetus ex victoria Seleucus, et quod magis ex victoria putabat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum munus, glorificabatur : ignoramus prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanae se ipsum exemplum futurum. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2.

(q) To
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father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received; he had the villainy to conspire against his benefactor, whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of King was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the aera of the Seleucidæ commences.

(q) A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government; but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the life-time of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Ulher, which has been my usual guide, and which affixes, with Father Petavi and Monsieur Vailant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius, and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Cercaurus as the au-

(q) Tom. VII. des Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

venger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king; but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

(r) He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace, while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lysimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and seemed desirous of espousing her; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself, and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple, which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arsinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal, would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She therefore consented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established in

(r) Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2--4.

the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandra, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the public places, and private houses, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen, but altars and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majestic mien, advanced to meet the King, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair disheveled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

(s) Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came

(s) A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Justin. l. xxiv, et xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exe. apud Photium. Eclogae Dioc. l. xxii. Calim. hymn. in Debum, et schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλατεῖς.

from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Aichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they dispatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceeding happy in purchasing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceranous † king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was unaffected at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe, under the ensigns of Alexander.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it: but conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as

† Solus rex Macedonias Ptolemaeus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque eum pauci et incompositi, quasi belti non difficilis quam secessa patrarentur, particillorum spiritu agitatus, occurrerunt. Justin.

hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls; and we may from hence observe, the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes; he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls, who after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and shewed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop; But this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon this intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but in all probability, he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor, and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerebrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

(t) This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Aichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to a hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitude, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the Strait of Thermopylae, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops who had been posted there, to defend that important pass; till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army toward Delphi, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Aichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves,

(t) A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 228.

and employed them in a better manner. (u) Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events: for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic † the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them, had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally: when he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed, ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them; and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the Straits of Thermopylae, in

(u) Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6-8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652-654.

† The ancients thought these kinds of terrors were infused into the mind by the god Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle, every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season: in a word, as they were constantly harrassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that rose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and the miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural, and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition: 'Tis certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving in to the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety; and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself: for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable, (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves) but from an absolute contempt of a Divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render

certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger; till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind, in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the Pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissolution of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

(x) Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprized Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being affected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia: who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Graecia, or Galatia. The canonical

(x) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 26.

epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people, and St. Jerom, above six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Threves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace, engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia; or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece with entire destruction.

(y) After the death of Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne, but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances; the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead therefore of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, and in consequence Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antigonus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peace-

antiochus
(y) A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 376. Memon, apud Phot. c. 19.

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able possessor, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

(z) Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. *Antigonus* defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.

Sect. IV. *Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the books of the Holy scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the version of the Septuagint.*

(a) **T**HE tumult of the wars which diversity of interest had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish his design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judaea in his time; and it was represented to

{z} A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. {a} A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas * a head to their masters, for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents †; which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom, by this bounteous proceeding. The King then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers, and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem, with all imaginable honours, and the King's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The King was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing

* About ten shillings.

† About sixty thousand pounds.

time, and in Seventy-two days compleated the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint version *. The whole was afterwards read, and approved in the presence of the King, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the Seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves; others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristaeus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended, that the writers whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristaeus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. (b) Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense, or style in which they were couched, was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the Spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the Seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate

(b) Philo de vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 558.

* It is called the Septuagint, for the sake of the round number 70, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons,

cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it also was by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version therefore which renders the scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious and correct language that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

Sect. VII. The various expeditions of Pyrrhus: first into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas. Secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans; wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia; of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had overthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus.

(c) PYRRHUS, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoying the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following from country to country, a felicity nowhere to be found. He therefore seized with joy, the first opportunity that offered, for plunging himself into new affairs.

(d) The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus, and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only af-

(e) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 396—397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

(d) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

sembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving from so excellent a school, the solid principles, and best maxims of true politics. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, That the eloquence of an enemy is no less prevalent than his sword. And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for his person; conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admitted to take place.

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. Your majesty intends, said he, to march against the Romans; should the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would you derive from your conquest? Were the Romans once subdued by my arms, replied Pyrrhus, all Italy would then be ours. Supposing ourselves

masters of that country, continued Cineas, how should we proceed next? Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island. But will our expeditions, added Cineas, end with the conquest of Sicily? No, certainly, replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion, Can we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprizes. Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my antient domain, every province in Greece shall be part of our future conquests. And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves? Dispose of ourselves? We will live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves. Ah! my lord, interrupted Cineas, and what prevents us now from living at ease, making of feasts, celebrating festivals, and enjoying all your majesty has mentioned? Why should we go so far on search of an happiness already in our power; and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble?

This discourse of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of his thoughts, wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diversion or pastime. The soul, says that great man, discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there, afflicts her when she considers it sedately. This obliges her to have recourse to external enjoyments, that she may lose in them the remembrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her last advantage in creation. U 3

joy ; and, to render her miserable, it suffices to oblige her to enter into, and converse with herself.

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples ; after which he adds the following remarks. When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying the repose in his power, without going in quest of it through such a number of fatigues ; he gave him a counsel that admitted of many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of being satisfied with himself, and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void of his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before, or after he had conquered the world ; and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his minister would have proved less satisfactory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions he meditated.

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately dispatched Cineas to the Tarentines with a band of three thousand foot ; soon after which a large number of flat-bottom'd vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transport-ships arriving from Thessaly, he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers.

All being ready, he set sail, but as soon as he advanced into the open sea, a violent tempest rose from the North, and drove him out of his course. The vessel in which he was yielded at first to the fury of the storm ; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head

of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him; till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast, the next morning, on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number: The infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprized to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption: And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained them.

selves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shews, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of news-mongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which several, who had never been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not sent him any succours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he dispatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply; *That the Romans neither seek Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.*

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer advanced with his troops, and encamped in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank, to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops; their advanced guards; the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw, and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him; *Megacles, said he, the disposition of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether*

the rest will correspond with this appearance †. And already anxious for the success of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies ; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers, glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner, and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general ; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace ; and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of the troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went ; directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon, killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of

† The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italians, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by an horseman, who left him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he shewed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broke by those animals, and that the horse, instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in con-

fusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnasseus writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies camp which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him, after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained; and instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This exalted turn of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprized, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to dispatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation; and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas therefore being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives: but not one Roman would receive them; they all replied, and even their wives, that when Rome had made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of

the senators seemed inclinable to a peace, and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events ; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and loss of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from public affairs : But when he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence, the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his antient vigour, made it evident by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where, said he, with a warmth of noble indignation, where is the spirit that suggested the bold language you once uttered, and whose accents rang through all the world : when you declared, that if the great Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he would never have gained the reputation of being invincible, but have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight or death ! Is it possible then, that you should now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to country, to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to secure him a small tract of Macedonia !" He added many other things of the same nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and dispel-

led the apprehensions of the senators; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas: That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy, after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it. But that as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Eroinus.

It is said, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans: their public as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible, of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, *That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings.* A just and noble idea of that august body! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets and all parts of the country, he added, *I greatly fear we are fighting with an Hydra.* Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Livinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all the honours possible. The ambassadors at their audience laid every thing necessary in the present conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts

were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of sinking the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage: That the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprize he was forming: That he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

(c) Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect. "Romans, it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I have taken from you, as you intend to employ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I proposed. If our mutual interest had been the subject of your attention, you never would have had recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my allies, and I promise to restore you all my prisoners, as well your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine, that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great number of soldiers."

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner. "As for you Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit, I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character, and that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am likewise as certain of your poverty; and must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class

(c) Dion, Halicarn. Excerpt. Legg. p. 244-248.

of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, *That no expence can be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures.* At the same time, I must desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust or dishonourable service from you, as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is perfectly consistent with your honour, and what will add to your authority and importance in your own country. Let me therefore conjure you to assist me with your credit in the Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much inflexibility, with relation to the treaty I proposed, and has never consulted the rules of moderation in any respect. Make them sensible, I intreat you, that I have given my solemn word to assist the Tarentines and other Greeks who are settled in this part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour abandon them on any account, and especially as I am now at the head of a potent army that has already gained me a battle. I must however acquaint you, that I am called by some pressing affairs, to my own dominions; and this is the circumstance which makes me wish for peace with the greater solicitude. As to any other particulars, if my quality as a king causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a number of other princes have openly violated the faith of treaties and alliances, without the least hesitation; become my security yourself on this occasion; assist me with your counsels in all my proceedings, and command my armies under me. I want a virtuous man, and a faithful friend; and you as much need a prince, whose liberalities may enable you to be more useful, and to do more good to mankind. Let us therefore consent to render mutual assistance to each other, in all the future conjunctures of our lives."

Pyrthus, having expressed himself in this manner, Fa-
brius, after a few moments silence, replied to him in

these terms. "It is needless for me to make any mention of the experience I may possibly have in the conduct of public or private affairs, since you have been informed of that from others. With respect also to my poverty you seem to be so well acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure you, I have no money to improve, nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue; that my whole fortune consists in a house of no considerable appearance; and in a little spot of ground that furnishes me with my support. But if you believe my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of every other Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties of an honest man, I am the less considered, because I happen not to be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive of me, is not just, and that whoever may have inspired you with that opinion, or you only suppose so yourself, you are deceived to entertain it. Who' I do not possess riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a public or private person. Did my necessitous circumstances ever induce my country to exclude me from those glorious employments, that are the noblest objects of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies. I sit also at the most august assemblies, and even the most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to my care. When ever the most important affairs are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in council, and offer my opinion with as much freedom as another. I preserve a parity with the richest and most powerful persons in the republic, and if any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost me nothing of mine, so more than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in public stations, and bestows them with liberality and magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs from many other

cities, where the public is extremely poor, and private persons immensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence, as long as the republic is so, because we consider her treasures as our own. The rich and the poor are equally admitted to her employments, as she judges them worthy of trust, and she knows no distinction between her citizens, but those of merit and virtue. As to my particular affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest of men when I compare myself with the rich, and find a certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. My little field, poor and infertile as it is, supplies me with whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I want more? every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger: I drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all the sweetnes of sleep when fatigued with toil. I content myself with an habit that covers me from the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds of furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest is, in my sense, the most commodious! I should be unreasonable, unjust, should I complain of fortune, whilst she supplies me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished me with any; but then she has not formed me with the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I then complain? it is true, the want of this abundance renders me incapable of reliev-
ing the necessitous, which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for enjoying. But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, some portion of the little I pos-
sess, and render my country all the services I am capable of performing; in a word, when I discharge all the duties incumbent on me, to the best of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn me? if riches had ever been the least part of my ambition, I have so long been employed in the administration of the republic, that I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and even by irreproachable methods. Could any man deline one more favourable than that which occurred to me a few years ago? the consular dignity was conferred upon me;

and I was sent against the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of land, and defeated the enemy in several battles : we took many flourishing and opulent cities by assault ; I enriched the whole army with their spoils ; I returned every cent of the money he had contributed to the expence of the war ; and after I had received the honours of a triumph, I brought four hundred talents into the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to myself ; after having despised such immense riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and many other great men, whose disinterested generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome to so illustrious an height, would it now become me to accept of the gold and silver you offer me ? what idea would the world entertain of me ? and what an example should I set Rome's citizens ? how could I bear their reproaches ? how even their looks at my return ? those awful magistrates, our censors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not compel me to be accountable, in the view of all the world, for the present you solicit me to accept ? you shall keep them, if you please, your riches to yourself, and I my poverty, and my reputation.

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabrius with these speeches, but he has only painted their semblance, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabrius was really persuaded, there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire.

(E) Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprise the

(F) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 328—327. et alio loco.

* Fabridus Pyrrh. regis auctor repulit, iniquisq; regno iudicavit regis operes postmodum. Senn. Epist. 429. et alio loco.

Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out its trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprize or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him, with a smile, *Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me.*

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the doctrines of Epicurus, and related the particular opinion of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind; and that they consigned him, to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights, and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines, might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, *Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine as long as they shall make war with the Romans!*

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of

erudition ; for at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning ? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those-table-conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed, without much expence of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors ?

Pyrrhus was struck with so much admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassador, and was so charmed with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. *I would not advise you to persist in that request,* replied Fabricius, whispering it his ear with a smile, *and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest, for if those who now honour and admire you should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself.*

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would entrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the King's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompence proportionable to the service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always

retained the same probity and justice *, even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them; and as he knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: And as he would not suffer the King to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference therefore with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

CAIUS FABRICIUS

AND

QUINTUS EMILIUS

CONSULS;

To KING PYRRHUS,

HEALTH.

YOU seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against a people of virtue and honour, - at the same time that you repose entire confidence in the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to despise us; and would not have it imagined, that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his Physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without

* Ejusdem animi fuit, auto non vici, vaneno non vincere. Admirati sumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; boni exempli tenorem; quod difficillimum est, in bello innocentem; qui aliquid esse culeret etiam in hoste nefas; qui insecuram paupertatem, quam sibi ducus fuerat, non after refugit divisa quam venenum. Senec. Epist. 120.

out ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, were not averse to receiving the prisoners: they however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks, as marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, had disposed his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to fifteen thousand men on the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp which was near the field of battle. The advantage therefore seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, *If we gain such another, replied he, we are inevitably*

ruined. And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field, against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war †.

(g) While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprize he had undertaken, too inconsiderately a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines into his possession; (h) and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and to deliver them from the tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Geraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend to the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flew so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas, to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortifica-

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 21. & l. xxiii. c. 3. (h) A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 378.

† Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Dicit opes animunque ferre. Horat.

tion to see themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Softratus *, who then governed that city, and by Theron, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them, out of the public treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people ; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence : He also defeated in a great battle the inhabitants of Messina, who were called *Mamertines* †, and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybaeum ; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Lybian sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles ; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high

* He is called Sosistratus, by Dionysius Halicarnassus.

† The word signifies martial, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

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at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order therefore to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severely punished those that neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. (i) In contempt of the customs of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that, by which he at first so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death; after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more

(i) Dionys. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571. VOL. VII.

than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus seized, but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conducted most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: his vigorous conduct in the enterprizes he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them †. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all round; he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time, for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those Barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed thither before him; to the number of near ten thousand men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harrassing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

† Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquisitique celeriter carebat; tanto melius studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

(k) Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, tell us, one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration, by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers, and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it.

(l) Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were loaded with these rich and sacred spoils, were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced by this cruel disaster, that the gods were imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents this impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprizes.

(m) Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them, when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague:

(k) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. I. xxiii. c. 3.

(l) Liv. l. xxix. n. 18. Dionys. Halicara. in Excerpt. p. 542.

(m) A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest, and of most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprize the consul in his camp. The enemy however discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains; and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and poshed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions; which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a compleat victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus, rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Car-

thage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces ; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes ; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables, but played them very ill.

(n) He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse ; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support ; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty ; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of Antigonus's soldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes ; marched against Antigonus himself ; attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter grew very warm ; but most of them were at last cut to pieces ; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now

(n) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

remained ; but the troops which composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian [†] Minerva. *Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva, these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. The descendants of Aeacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant.*

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of *Aegy*⁵, whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there. They also carried off all the riches inclosed in those monuments, and with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention; or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an enquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents: so

[†] Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her, under this name; one in Thessaly, near Larissa, which was the same with that in the passing before us: the other was in Boeotia, near Coronae.

⁵ A city of Macedonia on the river Haliacmon.

criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the opinion of the Macedonians.

(o) Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprizes. Cleonymus the Spartan came to sollicit him to march his army against Lacedaemonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons; Acrotates, and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute with relation to the sovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair, to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated therefore with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once, on his partial citizens, and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta; and that he

(o) A. M. 3732. Ant. J. C. 272. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400--402. Pausan. I. I. p. 23, 24. & I. iii. p. 168. Justin. I. xxv. c. 4.

only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city ; and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom; and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedaemon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Ages who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The Helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and shewed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedaemonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point : One among them in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, *What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live after the destruction of Sparta?*

The same council gave directions for opening a trench

parallel to the enemy's camp in order to oppose the approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work ; but as the absence of their King, and the surprize with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch, a kind of entrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth, up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter, to take some repose, while the night lasted ; they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took in the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth ; six in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner ; intreating them, at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, and breath their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed ; but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good

footing, because the earth which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out two thousand Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty, by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who saw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and prest upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonida; an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter, along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedaemonian infantry: The Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much; particularly Phylius, who after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself at last

faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedaemonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms, and refreshments to such as wanted them; and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch, with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedaemonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that design.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post, sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of the city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in greater numbers and with their arrows repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedaemonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when

every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city, before King Areus appeared with two thousand foot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedaemonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its King; but after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprize, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

(p) Aristaeas, and Arisippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristaeas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The King of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristaeas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians, who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedaemonian cavalry, commanded by Evaleus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour,

(p) A. M. 2733. Ant. J. C. 571. Phil. in Pyrrh. p. 493—406.
Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the sharpest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedaemonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage; he even surpassed himself; and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedaemonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a compleat victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning, to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, *That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.*

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of

friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire, but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristaeas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, King Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened, on his part, to sustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little surprized to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions, with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow; he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered

a quite contrary message, in consequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father; who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about, and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased, by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain; for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance. And to compleat the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that the troops could neither advance, nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward and were drove back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then confiding in the goodness of his horse, he sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a young soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon

his head; and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness; his hands dropped the reins; and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Aleyonaeus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not restrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army; he treated his son Helenus and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is justly due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior; and the best qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. (q) Livy reports, from an historian whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.

The same general also characterised Pyrrhus, by adding, " That he was the first who taught the art of encamping; that no one was more skilful in choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops; that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and this to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for their master, though a stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who, for so many years, had held the first rank in that country."

(q) See the note to the last sentence of the preceding page.

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals, masters of this art before him? the Romans, indeed, learnt it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone, are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a common soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shews strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the general safety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not be also said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? the reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes, and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprizes without the least maturity of thought; and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slender occasions, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty, and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece; his cares and attention were employed nowhere so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities, no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in their defence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

(r) The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compel to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus; (s) Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship, and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

(t) An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a

(r) A. M. 3330. Ant. J. C. 273. (s) Liv. Epit. I. iv. Eutrop. I. ii. (t) A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. et Eutrop. ibid. Val. Max. I. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold ; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them ; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the King's statues erected in the public parts of the city. The King having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns ; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This indeed was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men, who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return ; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves ? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompence merit in this manner ? We may observe here, says an historian *, three fine models set before us in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

* Valerius Maximus.

SECT. VIII. Athens besieged and taken by Antigonus. The just punishment inflicted on Satades, a satyric poet. The revolt of Magas from Philadelphus. The death of Phileteres, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Theos. The wise measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magas and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. Revolt of the East against Antiochus. Peace restored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, and as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but impetuously, and without success.

(u) Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, became very powerful, some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece: The Lacedaemonians, therefore; entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadel-

(v) A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168. & in Attic. p. 1.

thus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedaemon, put himself at the head of an army to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more adviseable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison into it.

(x) Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muse, and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satyr against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoe, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent man-

.(x) A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. siv. p. 620, 621.

ser; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets who profess satyr, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank, nor virtue.

(y) The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations therefore obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government, by long possession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army; and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Paretionion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmaridae in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four thousand Gauls, whom

(y) A. M. 3739. Att. J. C. 265. Pausan. in Att. p. 22, 13.

he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

(2) Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

(a) Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of fourscore. He was an eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that Prince, to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lysimachus finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and entrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post for several years; but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related;

(2) A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 263. (a) A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. in Att. p. 13, & 18.

and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Philæteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

(b) Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Philæteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a compleat victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

(c) Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat;

(b) A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Pausan. Eliac. i. p. 405. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. 21. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. (c) A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi.

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where he ordered * one of his sons to be put to death, for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed King ; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominion. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.

(d) Antiochus the son, when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his sister by the father. He afterward assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Coelosyria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria, in Asia minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus, for the seat of his residence. The Milesians in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgement for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of God. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages ! (e) The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour ; and the people of Smyrna, were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

(f) Berosus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign ; and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years.

(d) A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyaen. Strateg. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 230. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1. (e) Athen. l. vi. p. 55. (f) Tatian. in Orat. con. Graec. p. 171. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7.

* Mr. La Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The Reader may consult Tome VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berossus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold (g), in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercise. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

(h) Ptolemy being sollicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East; which till then had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from thence by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this last place, by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura, were two sea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red-sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

(i) Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red-sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it, almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped and brought down the Nile, to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandize, which was afterward exported to the East.

(g) Plin. 737. (h) A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259.

(i) Strab. 27. p. 815. Plin. I. vi. c. 23.

But as the passage from Coptus to the Red-sea lay cross the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans ; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations.

As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient ; for as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red-sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. (k) This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars ; one, twenty ; four rowed with fourteen ; two, with twelve ; fourteen, with eleven ; thirty, with nine ; thirty-seven, with seven ; five, with six ; and seventeen, with five. The number of the whole amounted to a hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults ; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor ; as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

(l) Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be rendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt ; and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

(k) Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203.

(l) A. M. 3746, Ant. J. C. 258.

(m) Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Toward the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia, to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatas, to come to her court, assuring him at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time, but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

(n) The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

(o) Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the in-

(m) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. I. xii. p. 550.
Justin. I. xxvi. c. 3. (n) A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256.
Hieron. in Daniel. (o) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 255.
Strab. I. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.

conveniences of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable.

(p) Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

(q) While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of providing with the necessary expedition. The revolt therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

(r) The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor,

(p) A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arato. p. 1031.

(q) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.

(r) Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515.

killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly, under Antiochus.

(s) Much about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and † M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome; that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

(t) The troubles and revolts in the East, made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them, and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons: Ptolemy then em-

(s) Justin. et Strab. ibid. (t) A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. Histor. in Dan. x. Polyaen. Strab. I. viii. c. 50. Athen. M. p. 45.

† In all facts he is called C. Atilius.

barked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Selencia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile, transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

(u) *I will now shew thee the truth.* These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia,* namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the sons of Hystaspes. *And the fourth shall be far richer than they all:* and by his strength through his riches, *he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.* The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

(x) *And a mighty King shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.* In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great,

(y) *And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, (by his death) and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven;* and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; *for his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others beside those,* namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast

(u) Dan. xi. 2. (x) Dan. chap. xi., ver. 3. (y) Ver. 4.

empire of Alexander * parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

(z) *The king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion: his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the kings daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.*

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

(a) *The king of the South shall be strong.* This king of the South, was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and the king of the North, was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judaea; which has Syria to the North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls the king of the South, and declares, that he shall be strong. The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history: For he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palestine, Coelosyria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor; with the island of Cyprus; as also several

(z) Ver. 5, 6. (a) Ver. 5.

* *Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus.* Liv. I. xlvi. n. 9.

iles in the Aegean sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

(b) The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls *Princes*, or *Governors*. This was Seleucus Nicator, *the king of the North*; of whom he declares, *that he shall be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive*: for this is the import of the prophets expression, *he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*. It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia minor, between mount Taurus and the Ægean sea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

(c) Daniel then informs us, *That the daughter of the king of the South, came to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings*. This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos King of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will shew us the fatal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowlege in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of

(b) Dan. Chap. xi. ver. 6. (c) Ver. 6.

events, extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment; by the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises in a secret certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will, - and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

(d) As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree in the statues, designs and pictures, of excellent masters; as he also was in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which suited his taste exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamt that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was sent back as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's temper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent

(d) A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 204. Liban, orat. ii.

curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree ; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was praetor, by stripping private houses and temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth and fortune, *Sell me this picture, or that statue* †, since it is in effect, declaring, *you are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession ; which suits only a person of my rank and taste.* I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this passion ; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds §.

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he espoused her ; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to several cities which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

(e) Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her, at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect

(e) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

† Superbum est et non ferendum, dicere praetorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido : vende mihi vassal coelata. Hoc esse enim dicere : non es dignus tu, qui habeas quae tam bene facta sunt. Meae dignitatis ista sunt. Cic. orat. de signis, n. 45.

§ Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est aestimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris. Id. n. 14.

in those times ; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time ; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Moliammed was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death ; but this is a mere vulgar error without the least foundation.

(f) Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoe but a short time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. (g) He left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son Ptolemy Evergetes, succeeded him in the throne ; the second bore the name of Lysimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

SECT. IX. *Character and Qualities of Ptolemy Philadelphus.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities ; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit ; I mean Demet-

(f) A. M. 3757. Ant. J. C. 247. Athen. l. xii. p. 10.

(g) Canon. Ptolem. Astron.

cius Phaleretus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books: and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory, as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner, as suited the dignity of a Prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use that expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess, and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a

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thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions ; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expences, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic ; that he opened a very long canal through desarts destitute of water ; and maintained a very numerous and compleat navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was, to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest ; as he was perswaded, that commerce was like some springs, that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years ; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind into all nations ; drawing continually from them, a return of voluntary contributions ; uniting the East and West by the mutual supply of their respective wants ; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires ; or at least those traces have not been dur-

able, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and became daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their natural soil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendors of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

A R T I C L E III.

THE third article comprehends the history of twenty-five years, including the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes.

Sect. I. *Antiochus Theos is poisoned by his queen Laodice, who causes Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. She also destroys Berenice and her son. Ptolemy Evergetes avenges their death, by that of Laodice, and seizes part of Asia. Antiochus Hierax, and Seleucus his brother, unite against Ptolemy. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son Demetrius. The war between the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus. The death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus succeeds him. The establishment of the Parthian empire by Arsaces. Antiochus is slain by robbers. Seleucus is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy. The death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus seizes the throne of that prince. The death of Seleucus.*

(b) **A**S soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This Lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to supplant her, by receiving Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus, should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice therefore caused Antiochus to be poisoned; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the Lords and people. In his name were if-

(h) A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. viii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

sued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callipicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe, as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that prince being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator: but being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice; first her son, and then herself with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold, with relation to this marriage. (i) *The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but he shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* I am not surprized that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer, if he had even been a spectator of the facts he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which in the time of Daniel constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterward reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a

(i) Dan. xi. 6.

marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed and reverenced!" *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.*

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune: in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as

far as Babylon and the Tigris: and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He however left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus; and Xantippus was entrusted with those that lay beyond it: Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, loaded with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off forty thousand \dagger talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols, that Cambyses, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their antient temples, when he returned from this expedition: for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which signifies a *Benefactor*, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. (k) *But out of a branch of her root, (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergētes the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North, (Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal against them, and shall*

(k) Dan. xi. 7--9.

\dagger About six millions Sterling.

prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land : namely, into that of Egypt.

(l) When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed ; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care, in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour to his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrion, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after, by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence ; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven, and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation ; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

(m) Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of

(l) Hygini. Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in hist. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren. (m) Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria ; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shewn to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

(n) Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom by the apprehension of domestic troubles ; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprize was however ineffectual, for as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest ; as if heaven itself, says † Justin, had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus and some of his attendants were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished, and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

(o) This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former ; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were left him when he escaped from the ship-

(n) A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

(o) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

† *Velut diis ipfis parricidium vindicantibus.*

wreck at sea : as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune.*

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia minor, were induced by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: They had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraved on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and with several other antique marbles, was presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish the same zeal had been ever testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary, would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, provided he would join him with his troops,

* Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunae natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni receperisset, quam ut amitteret. Justin.

and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age *, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of † Hierax, which signifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good, upon which he lays his talons.

(q) When Ptolemy received intelligence that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus, against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both those princes for his enemies at the same time.

(r) Antigonus Gonatus died much about this period, at the age of eighty, or eighty three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. (s) Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

(q) A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. (r) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. (s) Polyb. I. ii. p. 131. Justin. I. xxviii. c. i.

* Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra aetatem pugni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: sed latronis mox, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer celeratam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur. Justin.

† A Kite.

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them †; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. (t) Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them; it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army amongst them.

(u) Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being desirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both in consequence of their division. The imminent danger, to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This trea-

(t) Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. (u) Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3.

† Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit.

ty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them which cost him but little, and laid all Asia minor open to him.

(x) Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to assume the stile, of sovereigns. Attalus therefore was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and after him Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the west, Theodotus and Arsaces were proceeding by their example in the east. (y) The latter hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which in process of time became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other, with the most implacable warmth, not considering that while they contended with each other for the empire their

(x) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. I. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.

(y) Justin. I. xli. c. 4.

father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia : (z) Finding therefore that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him ; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt ; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He however had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned ; (a) he also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a Courtesan ; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

(b) Ptolemy in the mean time devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books : but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would likewise be necessary to consign them ; (c) Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country.

(z) A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. (a) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.
(b) A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239. (c) Suid. in voce, Zenodotus.

(d) He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

(e) When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt however was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus therefore after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprize in a dishonourable manner. He perhaps might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

(f) Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit; but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first *Æra* of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government, if they had persevered to submit to it. Arsaces now began to af-

(d) Id. in voce, Απολλανος & Ερατοσθηνης. (e) A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 236.

(f) A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin. l. lxi, c. 4. &c 5.

sume the title of King, and firmly established this empire of the East, which in process of time counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour to be called by his name ; in the same manner as the king of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans *. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, (g) *That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.*

(h) Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his couriers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum ; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the

(g) Dan. iv. xvii. (h) A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph, Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & 4.

* Arsaces, quaesito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis (fuit,) quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. Justin.

king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Coelosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them all the circumstances he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court; and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them, who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt, offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Coelosyria, Phoenicia, Judaea, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offer-

ed twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased ; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum, would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement ? The Jewish deputy replied with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves, and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

(i) King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son named Philip, in an early state of minority ; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed † *Doson*.

(k) Five or six years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arfaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to

(i) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 323. Justin. I. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euseb. (k) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Justin. I. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

† This name signifies, in the Greek language, "One who will give," that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achaeans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedaemonians. It will therefore be necessary for me to represent the present state of those two republics, and I shall begin with that of the Achaeans.

SECT. II. *The establishment of the republic of the Achaeans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of Ptolemy Evergetes, to extinguish a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Troezene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achaean league; but is not so successful with respect to Argos.*

(1) **T**H E republic of the Achaeans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty, and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotoniats and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achaeans, for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedaemonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

(1) Polyb. l. viii. p. 125-130.

It was composed of twelve † cities, all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because amongst all her citizens she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change a single man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Cassander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatas, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

(m) Toward the beginning of the CXXIVth Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy; the republic of the Achaeans resumed their former customs, and renewed their antient concord. The inhabitants of Patrae and Dyma laid the foundations of this happy change: The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republic anew: all affairs were decided by a public council: the registers were committed to a common secretary: the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves

(m) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

† These twelve cities were, Patrae, Dyma, Pharae, Tritaea, Leonium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

(n) Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed, and as he was wandering about the city in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as also she believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father's at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider

(n) Plut. in. Arato, p. 1027-1031.

him as a person destined to be their future deliverer ; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

(o) Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time ; and though the spies he sent to Argos, kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean passages, and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that *Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty.* Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to ashes in a few moments ; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side ; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens ; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined therefore that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achaean league, in which he easily succeeded ; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achaeans was indeed but inconsiderable ; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had

(o) A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

neither ports, nor any other maritime stations of security. But with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achaeans, (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the antient power of Greece) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continually strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens, with the malignant breath of envy ; thus, I say, did these Achaeans not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants ; but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achaean league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders : for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achaeans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

(p) The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging ; his sentiments were great and noble ; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs ; his expressions in discourse were always proper ; his thoughts just ; and even his si-

(p) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

lence judicious He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprizes against an enemy ; in making his designs impenetrable secrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must however be acknowledg'd, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army ; nothing could then be discovered in him but protraction, irresolution, and timidity ; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds ; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic and undaunted ; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

(q) I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished, gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile ; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions, after their recal from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed,

^{“(q) A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.”}
1038.

before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings : Aratus therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular ; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, (equal to a thousand crowns) not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants ; but when he came to that of Ariston, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not ; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so imitable in its kind, that Aratus was enchanted with its beauties ; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy ; and he therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt ; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him ; and presented him with a hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasion universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels, to assist him in the determination of this important affair, (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded ; statues were erected to him, and the people by public inscriptions declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy and even fear ; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an in-

tention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he therefore was resolved to employ him in his affairs: He concluded this strain of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court who were then present, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprized and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achaeans for the first time, ravaged Locris and all the territory of Calydon; and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Boeotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chaeronea †, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

(r) Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achaeans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious enter-prizes of the Grecian leaders.

The Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, that are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication by land and sea from the inner part of the isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel *the shackles of Greece*, and as it was capable of being rendered such, it created

(r) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 224.

† Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprize, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn ; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city ; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow tract hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the summit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and with a smile desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes ? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprize. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed ; but as it became requisite to deposite that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers ; and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprize,

he pledged all his gold and silver, plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardor for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them ; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known for an enterprize, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprizing an instance of magnanimity ? Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action !

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprize were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual ; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he in-

tended to execute : they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the sentinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with a hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able ; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrowded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line, against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights that were immediately set up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with confused cries that were not to be distinguished.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed as if a miracle had interposed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard: but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers therefore not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed by those three hundred men without perceiving them: but when he had advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who con-

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops then desired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries to animate their friends, and redouble their ardor. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at last had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that soon dispersed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achaeans in two lines in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage compleatly armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest, and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and grati-

tude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand ; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little toward the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achaean league ; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterward sold. The Achaeans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of four hundred men.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus, and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Traezene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achaean league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendency of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years, was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuation : for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any

other consideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achaeans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union; and must infallibly perish, when once they are separated; as the sustenance by which they subsist will be discontinued from that moment. Cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

(a) All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprizes of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

-(b) He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Deinetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Etolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achaean league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. The Achaeans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

(c) Illyrium was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the

(a) Polyb. l. ii. p. 130. (b) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.
Polyb. l. ii. p. 91--101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760. A. M.
3770. Ant. J. C. 234. (c) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232.

son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharos, so called from a city of Illyrium subject to him, where the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acaianians in particular. (d) Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son, named Pinacus. These people harrassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Aetolians and Achaeans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good services were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharos, with his garrison, into their city.

(e) The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumius Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharos, delivered up to the Consul Fulvius the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

(f) Teuta reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lysus, with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to

(d) A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228. (e) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. (f) A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country, they also sent ambassadors to the Aetolians and Achaeans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also dispatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens: others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example; and he procured several advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent their conduct.

(g) Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour, to restore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education he had received there, and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achaean league, as highly advantageous to the common cause: but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aris-tippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the

(g) Plut. in Arat. p. 1038-1041.

consent of the Aratus; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern: for when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conunducture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops, for the security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords, and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the portico's which entirely surrounded that structure. He drove away all his domestics the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept as we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but

merely by his virtue, and in effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe and a mind void of fear; and where as all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, seldom escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always shewed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world. ^{so called} †

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus and above fifteen hundred of his men lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus had thrown a body of the King's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power: but he resigned the tyranny either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achaean League. That league were affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general, and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprizes which seemed ne-

[†] Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.

cessary at that juncture, and among the rest, declared war against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus employed his utmost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lydiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside which concealed a dangerous ambition, and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedaemonians will for the future have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achaeans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECT. III. Agis king of Sparta attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the antient institutions of Lycurgus; in which he partly succeeds: but finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus against the Aesolians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

(h) **W**HEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches, and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her antient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurystionidae, and the sixteenth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of

(h) Plut. in Agid. p. 796--801.

Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidae, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Plataea.

I have already related the divisions which arose in Sparta between Cleonymus * and Areus, in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrthus to raise the siege of Lacedaemon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had resided for several years in the palaces of the Satrapae, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded upon moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age; and though he had been educated amidst riches †, and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he from the first renounced all those ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the ancient form of public meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, *That he should not value being king, if*

* Josephus relates that Areus King of Lacedaemon sent letters to Onias the High Priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedaemonians: The original of this relation is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

† Plutarch informs us that his mother Agesistrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedaemonians together.

It were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta. These noble sentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a solid judgment of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded, the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition however of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended in some measure the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony in his own life-time, or to make a testamentary donation of them to whom he pleased; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their several families; since it was not then possessed of any motives for filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impressions on those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of con-

sidering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects would be soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us, how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws †, on which basis a state, a community has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniences from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguishing those ardors for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about seven hundred; and not many more than a hundred of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible, the rich would be the only gainers by their victories: in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the

† Adeo nihil modum ex antiquo probable est: veteribus, nisi quatuor evidenter arguit, nulli dubium. Lio. I. cap. viii. n. 34.

present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

(i) Such was the state of Sparta, when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprize was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with a passion for riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them, without any expence to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured by his means to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs: when Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation, on the first ideas it presented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent to dissuade him from it: but when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments, and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent

(i) A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 249; cideb iodi moit lagrada

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to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedaemonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestic affairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich; but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards, for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lysander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. 1. All debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which ex-

tended from the valley of Pellene, to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond these limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms; 5. Those lands which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of *Phidicies*; the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred; and lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed by the senators, whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lysander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them. Particularly, the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk, ever since they had been disregarded by her: he then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once could make the Great

King* tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence; which might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, as by these means they were exposed to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with intreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost, but that they would recal to their remembrance those antient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse, (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter) that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable, consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, besides six hundred talents of current money †; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy, that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power: For as he knew, that it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligations to him, as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their estates should be appropriated to the public;

* This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

† Equal to six hundred thousand French crowns.

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would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus, was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always considered him as such. "Where do you find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered, "That he was not surprised that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the house of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had swept away all actual, and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city. That, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established: That these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from a mere apprehension, that their method of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and softness, and an immoderate passion for riches." He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis; but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them: they likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received, and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices: Upon which Lyfander, who still continued in his

employment, immediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient, by which "each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from espousing any foreign woman; and which made it death for any Spartan to settle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the same time, to assist in the prosecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called *Chalcidios*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus separated herself from her husband, and became a suppliant for her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he refused to render obedience in that particular, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lysander quitted his employment about the close of these transactions, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him and Mardonides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lysander and Mardonides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs, when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonstrance, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for the releasing the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: But not one person was killed

on this occasion, and when Agis even knew, that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated in his retreat to Tegaea, he ordered him to be safely conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: But as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas if they began, with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, it would be easy for them to accomplish the partition of lands. The specious turn of this reasoning ensnared Agis; and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agesilaus: In consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the public place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burnt to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money returned home extremely dejected, and Agesilaus cried with an insulting air, *That he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before.*

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achaeans, who were in alliance with the Lacedaemonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achaeans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumstances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder; and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprized, and made the following reflection: *What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedaemon, when they were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the antient Leopidas; as they even discover at this time so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp!*

Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not advisable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achaeans, whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms for his disinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wise view for the public good. He justified his con-

duct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion, wheyin he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more adviseable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

(k) The Aetolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstructions, and in their march seized the city of Pelene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with those he then had against the enemies, who were become weak even by their victory; he attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it after having lost seven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered into the highest applause and panegyric.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achaeans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Aetolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league between the two nations of Aetolia and Achaea.

(l) Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agesilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice,

(k) Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.

(l) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Plut. in Agid. p. 802—804.

committed the greatest violence and injustice; when he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops who served him as a guard when he went to the senate, and caused a report to be spread that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most public manner from Tegaea, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated, to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Agesilaus saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary, Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperate against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally fortunate, as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a suppliant for him with her father.

All those who were then present melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the admirable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess pointing to her mourning habit and disheveled tresses, "Believe me, O my father," said she, "this habit of woe which I now

wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and these sorrows into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that compassion, I entertain for Cleombrotus, but the sad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have sustained in your flight from Sparta. On what alas! shall I now resolve! While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth on the point of perishing by your dagger? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition, I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband! What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her nearest relations!" Cheronida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle; and

how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcessilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity however was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprize him, and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way,

and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets through which they past turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, *Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour.* At the same instant, Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed: and as no person came to assist him, because there was no body in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures? to which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he repented of that proceeding? the young prince answered, with an air of steadiness, *That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble and glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors.* His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those, on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed, were usually strangled.

When Demochares saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be assistant at so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and intreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, least he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, *Weep not for me, my friend, for as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me.* When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the desolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: he raised her from the earth, and assured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; intreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, to enter the prison, and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit; your request, said he, is reasonable, and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to seize Archi-

damia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that dismal place, she beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still twisted about her neck. She assisted the executioners in disengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty; after which she laid the corpse by her son, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was compleated, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, *O my son, said she, the excess of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!*

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, *Since you knew, said he, and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment.* Agesistrata rose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, *Nay this, cried she, at least be useful to Sparta.*

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledg'd that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all: so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding nations can never obliterate.

(m) Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight, but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies, in beauty as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECT. IV. Cleomenes ascends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achaeans, over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus, and the Achaeans. Aratus applies for succour to Antigonus king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achaeans obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy.

(n) CLEOMENES had a noble soul, and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that excessive sweetness of dispo-

(m) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. (n) Plut in Cleom. p. 805--811.

sition attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so amiable to him as the government of his citizens agreeable to their own inclinations, but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to the public utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from the view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expence. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Sphaerus, who came from the banks of the Broilthenes, settled in Lacedaemon, and applied himself in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian §. The Stoic philosophy, which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind, but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

(o) After the death of Leonidas, who did not long sur-

(o) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

§ So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

vive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne, and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of King, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew solicitous to change the form of government and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achaeans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against him.

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy. And this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedaemonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedaemonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harrass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardors for the war. The Achaeans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with him near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops,

and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to five thousand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their antient kings, who said, *That the Lacedaemonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were.* He afterwards defeated the Achaeans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinea, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded that the authority of the Ephori, would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus †.

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achaeans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysiades was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedaemonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so, as to enter the city

[†] Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 383. et l. viii. p. 511.

when the Ephori were at supper ; at which time, a sett of persons who had been chosen for that action entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates †; with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself ; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence ; and indeed what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of four-score citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of public resort : he also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori, except one where he determined to place himself, in order to render justice ; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued ; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even in causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice ; and menacing those who were desirous of beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued rendered it sufficiently evident ; that instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately consigned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recal them as soon as affairs could be

† This magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens, with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thousand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconic discipline, wherein the philosopher Spherus was very assistant to him. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their antient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was not very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclid as king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house, at one time.

Cleomenes believing that Aratus and the Achaeans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfactions occasioned by the novelties he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let him see how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and shews to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them by this contemptuous bravado, how much he assured himself of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary in those times to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute

proceedings. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were passed to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate railleries, that were always modest and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers : the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire : he made all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly laconic. No music was ever introduced there ; nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place ; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history ; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety.

He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory to attach men to their interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables ; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought, and sincerity of manners, always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

(p) This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardor for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achaeans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pherae, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achaeans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymae, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harrassed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a compleat victory ; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

(q) The Achaeans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achaeans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in his-

(p) A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228. (q) Plut. in Cleom. p. 815.
Idem in Arat. p. 1044.

tory, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despised of retrieving the affairs of the Achaeans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them master of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event: jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

(r) The Achaeans being reduced to the last extremities, and especially after the loss of the first battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards dispatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achaean league, promising on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achaeans, who were very inclined to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty: The king set out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achaean league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very dishonourable in him to suffer a young man to graft himself upon him, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented and retained for so many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achaeans from the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought the Lacedaemonians were very reasonable in their intentions to restore Peloponnesus to its antient state,

(r) A. M. 4777. Ant. J. C. 227.

He had recourse to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. His design was to call in the assistance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

(s) He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was sensible, that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself, because he knew that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and beside, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achaeans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achaeans were so far from being in a condition, to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achaeans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achaeans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions before hand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was

(s) Polyb. l. ii. p. 133-140.

then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should have those advantages over the Achaeans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achaeans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove adverse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then intreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him, for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprizes, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke,

by uniting their forces. (t) Polybius, speaking of one these princes, declares in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty. *

It cannot therefore be thought surprizing that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achaeans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately dispatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achaeans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to put their interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private; for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished indeed to have had occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achaeans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis, were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achaeans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded, with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achaeans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republic to endeavour

(t) Lib. ii. p. 131.

* Δημήτριος οὐ αυτοῖς (μοναρχοῖς) οἶονς χαρηγός καὶ μισθωτηρός.

to terminate her wars by her own forces ; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved, and it was concluded, that the Achaeans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

(u) The events of it were however very unfavourable to them : for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities * of Peloponnesus, of which Argos was the most considerable, and at last seized Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achaeans had then no longer time for deliberation ; Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition ; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus amongst the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of twenty thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegae, unknown to the enemy ; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more adviseable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains †, and to harry the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with such well disci-

(u) A. M. 3773. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047. A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

* Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlione, Cleonae, Epidaurus, Hermione, Traezene.

† These were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Boeotia, and mount Citheron. Strab. l. 8.

plined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to the greatest extremities, for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes: The only expedient therefore to which Antigonus could have recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory Heraea, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon, which would require a considerable space of time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

(x) While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night by sea, and informed him that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at Epidaurus.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus, and to animate the Corinthians, assured them that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this however he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedaemonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from these troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

(x) A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedaemonians, entered the place, and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such were his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand, and though he frequently went to visit her with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have usually a great share of penetration with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? and when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her; *How, my son, said she*

with a smile, is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction!

When the preparations for her voyage were compleat-ed, Cratesiclea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was call-ed) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his an-guish at that melancholy parting; *King of Lacedaemon*, said she, *let us dry our tears, that no person when we quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing un-worthy of Sparta.* For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God. When she had expressed her-self to this effect, she composed her countenance; led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived at Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achaeans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war, without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

(y) Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities ; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minae (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents, (about one hundred twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) and armed two thousand of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus ; he then formed an enterprize, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprizing this city, and to take it without any opposition ; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achaeans, the king of Sparta justly supposed, that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself ; and consequently that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected ; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them ; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achaean

(y) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. I. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815--817. Id. in Arato. p. 1048.

league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopoemen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name, the times of which we now treat, may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was lost in the splendor of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achaeans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions, and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to

slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games in honour of Antigonus : and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprized the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself ; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety ; but he was no longer master of affairs, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new inhabited city † by the name of him who had shewn himself its most cruel enemy. A sad, and at the same time, a salutary example, which shews that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which, no great quality nor any shining action can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achaeans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them ? was it not their election of him for their general ? and did he not demand that, with a view to compleat the welfare of their cities, and secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title ? if therefore,

† Antigonia.

continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta, have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians: at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta, descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the antient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achaeans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a procession crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was however a man of great merit in other respects, and had shewn himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty, which amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempt from blame.

(z) We have already observed, that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprize which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waste. He conceived at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achaeans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or to resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word,

(z) Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ü. p. 149.

they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city, to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the King; and especially when they considered that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of soul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented from reinstating Sparta in her antient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECT. V. *The celebrated battle of Selasia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires into Egypt. Antigonus makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Evergetes, to whose throne Ptolemy Philopater succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of those princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossus.*

(a) **T**HE Macedonians and Achaeans having quitted their quarters in the summer season, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laco-nia. His army was composed of twenty eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage

(a) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. I. ii. p. 150--154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Id. in Philop. p. 358.

into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This tiefile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedaemonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing at the same time along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry, and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardor for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and sound the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspence how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantagiously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one third, but were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedaemon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply

him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, two thousand Achaeans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achaean foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line; and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achaean forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher situation, at the same time that they were charged in the rear, by the foreign troops, who assaulted them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopoemen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given.

Philopoemen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as a chimera. Philopoemen was not diverted from his purpose by that usage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harassed them on every side: the inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on

the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would infallibly attend his arms : He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity : but as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged them to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry, formed themselves on the eminence ; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achaeans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopoemen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopoemen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin ; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each of them had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in signalizing themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters ; and therefore thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced

with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans ; and these in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx ; till at last the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedaemonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general ; the Lacedaemonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in great disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedaemonians escaped out of six thousand.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus derived his success, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopoemen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few forces as those of his own troop, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline ; but it ought to be remembred, that the welfare of the army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a single moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner ; for when the battle was over he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued ? Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner ; *That young man, said Antigonus, in seizing the occasion, behaved like a great general, but you the general, like a young man.*

Sparta on this disaster shewed that antient steadines and intrepidity which seemed to have something of savage, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband: The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they tended them with peculiar care, and supplyed them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus, assuring them at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty; nor sit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm, and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures in his power to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain, by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia, for the liberty of Sparta. *You are deceived, cried Cleomenes,* if

you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause : Say rather that such an action is mean and pusillanimous : The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself†. Since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath ; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination.

(b) Cleomenes had scarce set sail, before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror, and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had saved that city, by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the antient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow, and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his city in her antient splendor, and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those antient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time,

(b) A. M. 4781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819.
Polyb. l. ii. p. 255. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

† The antients maintained it as a principle, that the death of persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless or inactive, with respect to the public; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions; Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

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It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprizes of Cleomenes were the last struggles for its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it ; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He however would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, *O the glorious happy battle!* and that he uttered this exclamation with so much ardor, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood ; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever which ended his days. Some time before his death he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age ; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the scepter, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shewn in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlar-

ged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. (c) The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as with his other good offices should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents (about twenty thousand pounds sterling,) with which he supported himself and his friends, with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. (d) Ptolemy however died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; (e) for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal * care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straits †, which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

(f) Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake: the walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the narrow passes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense

(c) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. (d) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 222. (e) Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. (f) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 428, 431.

* Monum. Adulit.

† Straits of Babelmandel.

sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, beside his other expences, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beside an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady whose name was Chryseis †, and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance an hundred thousand bushels of corn. Let the princes of these times, says Polybius, who imagine they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described. Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before; if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, as I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions al-

[†] Chryseis signifies Golden.

ready mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. (g) This people, instead of employing the sums they had received, in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground, for the space of eight hundred ninety-four years; at the expiration of which (that is to say, in the six hundred and fifty-third year of our Lord) Moawias †, the sixth Caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the statue had sustained by rust and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-six thousand pounds sterling, or seven thousand two hundred quintals.

(g) Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

† Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. et Cedrenus.

The End of VOLUME VII.



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